Digitized by Google

65 E 439.

Národní knihovna ČR
Historické fondy
65 E 439/vol.12
Národní knihovna
1003298646

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

THE

WORKS

OF

HENRY FIELDING.

VOLUME TWELFTH.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

THE

WORKS

OF

HENRY FIELDING, Esq;

IN

TWELVE VOLUMES.

WITH

The LIFE of the AUTHOR.

VOLUME the TWELFTH.

LONDON:
Printed for JOHN BELL, No 132. Strand.
M. DCC. LXXV.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

CONTENTS

OF THE

TWELFTH VOLUME.

	Page
AN ESSAY on CONVERSATION,	3
An ESSAY on the KNOWLEDGE OF THE CHARACTERS OF MEN,	39
The COVENT-GARDEN JOURNAL,	67
A CHARGE TO THE GRAND JURY OF WESTMINSTER, June 29, 1749,	189
JOURNAL OF A VOYAGE TO LISBON,	215
FRAGMENT OF A COMMENT ON LORD BOLINGBROKE'S ESSAYS,	335

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

AN ESSAY ON CONVERSATION.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

AN

ESSAY

ON

CONVERSATION.

MAN is generally repreſented as an animal formed for, and delighted in, ſociety: in this ſtate alone, it is ſaid, his various talents can be exerted, his numberleſs neceſſities relieved, the dangers he is expoſed to can be avoided, and many of the pleaſures he eagerly affects, enjoyed. If theſe aſſertions be, as I think they are, undoubtedly and obviouſly certain, thoſe few who have denied man to be a ſocial animal, have left us theſe two ſolutions of their conduct: either that there are men as bold in denial, as can be found in aſſertion; and, as Cicero ſays, there is no abſurdity which ſome philoſopher or other hath not aſſerted; ſo we may ſay, there is no truth ſo glaring, that ſome have not denied it: or elſe, that theſe rejecters of ſociety borrow all their information from their own ſavage diſpoſitions, and are, indeed, themſelves, the only exceptions to the above general rule.

But to leave ſuch perſons to thoſe who have thought them more worthy of an anſwer; there are others, who are ſo ſeemingly fond of this ſocial ſtate, that they are underſtood abſolutely to confine it to their own ſpecies; and, entirely excluding the tamer and gentler, the herding and flocking parts of the creation, from all benefits of it, to ſet up this as one grand general diſtinction, between the human and the brute ſpecies.

Shall we conclude this denial of all ſociety to the nature of brutes, which ſeems to be in defiance of every day's obſervation, to be as bold as the denial of it to the nature of men? or, may we not more juſtly derive the error from an improper underſtand-

Digitized by Google

ing of this word Society in too confined and ſpecial a ſenſe? In a word, do thoſe who utterly deny it to the brutal nature, mean any other by ſociety than converſation?

Now if we comprehend them in this ſenſe, as I think we very reaſonably may, the diſtinction appears to me to be truly juſt; for though other animals are not without all uſe of ſociety, yet this noble branch of it ſeems, of all the inhabitants of this globe, confined to man only; the narrow power of communicating ſome few ideas of luſt, or fear, or anger, which may be obſervable in brutes, falling infinitely ſhort of what is commonly meant by converſation, as may be deduced from the origination of the word itſelf, the only accurate guide to knowledge. The primitive and literal ſenſe of this word, is, I apprehend, to turn round together; and in its more copious uſage we intend by it, that reciprocal interchange of ideas, by which truth is examined, things are, in a manner, turned round and ſifted, and all our knowledge communicated to each other.

In this reſpect, man ſtands, I conceive, diſtinguiſhed from, and ſuperior to, all other earthly creatures: it is this privilege, which, while he is inferior in ſtrength to ſome, in ſwiftneſs to others; without horns, or claws, or tuſks to attack them, or even to defend himſelf againſt them, hath made him maſter of them all. Indeed, in other views, however vain men may be of their abilities, they are greatly inferior to their animal neighbours. With what envy muſt a ſwine, or a much leſs voracious animal, be ſurveyed by a glutton! and how contemptible muſt the talents of other ſenſualiſts appear, when oppoſed, perhaps, to ſome of the loweſt and meaneſt of brutes! but in converſation man ſtands alone, at leaſt in this part of the creation; he leaves all others behind him at his firſt ſtart; and the greater progreſs he makes, the greater diſtance is between them.

Converſation is of three ſorts. Men are ſaid to converſe with God, with themſelves, and with one another. The two firſt of theſe have been ſo liberally and

Digitized by Google

and excellently ſpoken to by others, that I ſhall, at preſent, paſs them by, and confine myſelf, in this eſſay, to the third only: ſince it ſeems to me amazing, that this grand buſineſs of our lives, the foundation of every thing either uſeful or pleaſant, ſhould have been ſo ſlightly treated of; that while there is ſcarce a profeſſion or handicraft in life, however mean and contemptible, which is not abundantly furniſhed with proper rules to the attaining its perfection, men ſhould be left almoſt totally in the dark, and without the leaſt light to direct, or any guide to conduct, them in the proper exerting of thoſe talents, which are the nobleſt privilege of human nature, and productive of all rational happineſs; and the rather, as this power is by no means ſelf-inſtructed; and in the poſſeſſion of the artleſs and ignorant, is of ſo mean uſe, that it raiſes them very little above thoſe animals who are void of it.

As converſation is a branch of ſociety, it follows, that it can be proper to none who is not in his nature ſocial. Now ſociety is agreeable to no creatures who are not inoffenſive to each other; and we therefore obſerve in animals, who are entirely guided by Nature, that it is cultivated by ſuch only, while thoſe of more noxious diſpoſition addict themſelves to ſolitude, and, unleſs when prompted by luſt, or that neceſſary inſtinct implanted in them by nature, for the nurture of their young, ſhun as much as poſſible the ſociety of their own ſpecies. If therefore there ſhould be found ſome human individuals of ſo ſavage a habit, it would ſeem they were not adapted to ſociety, and conſequently, not to converſation: nor would any inconvenience enſue the admittance of ſuch exceptions, ſince it would by no means impeach the general rule of man's being a ſocial animal; eſpecially when it appears (as is ſufficiently and admirably proved by my friend, the author of An Inquiry into Happineſs) that theſe men live in a conſtant oppoſition to their own nature, and are no leſs monſters than the moſt wanton abortions, or extravagant births.

Again, if ſociety requires that its members ſhould be

be inoffenſive, ſo the more uſeful and beneficial they are to each other, the more ſuitable are they to the ſocial nature, and more perfectly adapted to its inſtitution: for all creatures ſeek their own happineſs; and ſociety is therefore natural to any, becauſe it is naturally productive of this happineſs. To render therefore any animal ſocial, is to render it inoffenſive; an inſtance of which is to be ſeen in thoſe the ferocity of whoſe nature can be tamed by man. And here the reader may obſerve a double diſtinction of man from the more ſavage animals by ſociety, and from the ſocial by converſation.

But if men were merely inoffenſive to each other, it ſeems as if ſociety and converſation would be merely indifferent; and that, in order to make it deſirable by a ſenſible being, it is neceſſary we ſhould go farther, and propoſe ſome poſitive good to ourſelves from it; and this pre-ſuppoſes not only negatively, our not receiving any hurt; but poſitively, our receiving ſome good, ſome pleaſure or advantage, from each other in it, ſomething which we could not find in an unſocial and ſolitary ſtate: otherwiſe we might cry out with the right honourable poet *;

'Give us our wildneſs and our woods,
'Our huts and caves again.'

The art of pleaſing or doing good to one another is therefore the art of converſation. It is this habit which gives it all its value. And as man's being a ſocial animal (the truth of which is inconteſtibly proved by that excellent author of An Inquiry, &c. I have above cited) preſuppoſes a natural deſire or tendency this way, it will follow, that we can fail in attaining this truly deſirable end from ignorance only in the means; and how general this ignorance is, may be, with ſome probability, inferred from our want of even a word to expreſs this art by: that

* The Duke of Buckingham.

which

which comes the nearest to it, and by which, perhaps, we would sometimes intend it, being so horribly and barbarously corrupted, that it contains at present scarce a simple ingredient of what it seems originally to have been designed to express.

The word I mean is Good-breeding; a word, I apprehend, not at first confined to externals, much less to any particular dress or attitude of the body: nor are the qualifications expressed by it to be furnished by a millener, a tailor, or a perriwig-maker; no, nor even by a dancing-master himself. According to the idea I myself conceive from this word, I should not have scrupled to call Socrates a well-bred man, though I believe he was very little instructed by any of the persons I have above enumerated. In short, by good-breeding (notwithstanding the corrupt use of the word in a very different sense) I mean the art of pleasing, or contributing as much as possible to the ease and happiness of those with whom you converse. I shall contend therefore no longer on this head: for whilst my reader clearly conceives the sense in which I use this word, it will not be very material whether I am right or wrong in its original application.

Good-breeding then, or the *Art of pleasing in conversation*, is expressed in two different ways, *viz.* in our actions and our words; and our conduct in both may be reduced to that concise, comprehensive rule in scripture; *Do unto all men as you would they should do unto you.* Indeed, concise as this rule is, and plain as it appears, what are all treatises on ethics, but comments upon it? and whoever is well read in the book of nature, and hath made much observation on the actions of men, will perceive so few capable of judging, or rightly pursuing, their own happiness, that he will be apt to conclude, that some attention is necessary (and more than is commonly used) to enable men to know truly, *what they would have done unto them*, or, at least, what it would be their interest *to have done.*

If therefore men, through weakness or inatten-

tion,

tion, often err in their conceptions of what would produce their own happineſs, no wonder they ſhould miſs in the application of what will contribute to that of others; and thus we may, without too ſevere a cenſure on their inclinations, account for that frequent failure in true good-breeding, which daily experience gives us inſtances of.

Beſides, the commentators have well paraphraſed on the abovementioned divine rule, that it is, to *do unto men what you would they* (if they were in your ſituation and circumſtances, and you in theirs) *ſhould do unto you:* and as this comment is neceſſary to be obſerved in ethics, ſo is it particularly uſeful in this our art, where the degree of the perſon is always to be conſidered, as we ſhall explain more at large hereafter.

We ſee then a poſſibility for a man well diſpoſed to this golden rule, without ſome precautions, to err in the practice: nay, even good-nature itſelf, the very habit of mind moſt eſſential to furniſh us with true good-breeding, the latter ſo nearly reſembling the former, that it hath been called, and with the appearance at leaſt of propriety, artificial good-nature; this excellent quality itſelf ſometimes ſhoots us beyond the mark, and ſhews the truth of thoſe lines in Horace:

Inſani ſapiens nomen ferat, æquus iniqui,
Ultra quam ſatis eſt, virtutem ſi petat ipſam.

Inſtances of this will be naturally produced, where we ſhew the deviations from thoſe rules, which we ſhall now attempt to lay down.

As this good-breeding is the art of pleaſing, it will be firſt neceſſary, with the utmoſt caution, to avoid hurting or giving any offence to thoſe with whom we converſe. And here we are ſurely to ſhun any kind of actual diſreſpect, or affront to their perſons, by inſolence, which is the ſevereſt attack that can be made on the pride of man, and of which Florus ſeems to have no inadequate opinion, when, ſpeaking

Digitized by Google

speaking of the second Tarquin, he says, *In omnes sæperbia (quæ crudelitate gravior est* BONIS*) grassatus;* 'He trod on all with insolence, which sits heavier 'on men of great minds than cruelty itself.' If there is any temper in man, which more than all others disqualifies him for society, it is this insolence or haughtiness, which, blinding a man to his own imperfections, and giving him a hawk's quick-sightedness to those of others, raises in him that contempt for his species, which inflates the cheeks, erects the head, and stiffens the gaite, of those strutting animals, who some times stalk in assemblies, for no other reason, but to shew in their gesture and behaviour the disregard they have for the company. Though to a truly great and philosophical mind, it is not easy to conceive a more ridiculous exhibition than this puppet; yet to others he is little less than a nuisance; for contempt is a murderous weapon; and there is this difference only between the greatest and weakest man, when attacked by it, that, in order to wound the former, it must be just; whereas, without the shields of wisdom and philosophy, which, God knows, are in the possession of very few, it wants no justice to point it; but is certain to penetrate, from whatever corner it comes. It is this disposition which inspires the empty Cacus to deny his acquaintance, and overlook men of merit in distress; and the little, silly, pretty Phillida, or Foolida, to stare at the strange creatures round her. It is this temper which constitutes the supercilious eye, the reserved look, the distant bow, the scornful leer, the affected astonishment, the loud whisper, ending in a laugh directed full in the teeth of another. Hence spring, in short, those numberless offences given too frequently, in public and private assemblies, by persons of weak understandings, indelicate habits, and so hungry and foul-feeding a vanity, that it wants to devour whatever comes in its way. Now, if good-breeding be what we have endeavoured to prove it, how foreign, and, indeed, how opposite to it, must such a behaviour be? and can any man call a duke or a du-

Digitized by Google

a dutchess who wears it, well-bred? or are they not more justly entitled to those inhuman names which they themselves allot to the lowest vulgar? But behold a more pleasing picture on the reverse. See the Earl of C------, noble in his birth, splendid in his fortune, and embellished with every endowment of mind; how affable! how condescending! himself the only one who seems ignorant that he is every way the greatest person in the room.

But it is not sufficient to be inoffensive, we must be profitable servants to each other: we are, in the second place, to proceed to the utmost verge in paying the respect due to others. We had better go a little too far than stop short in this particular. My Lord Shaftesbury hath a pretty observation, that the beggar, in addressing to a coach with, My Lord, is sure not to offend, even though there be no lord there; but, on the contrary, should plain Sir fly in the face of a nobleman, what must be the consequence? And, indeed, whoever considers the bustle and contention about precedence, the pains and labours undertaken, and sometimes the prices given for the smallest title or mark of pre-eminence, and the visible satisfaction betrayed in its enjoyment, may reasonably conclude this is a matter of no small consequence. The truth is, we live in a world of common men, and not of philosophers; for one of these, when he appears (which is very seldom) among us, is distinguished, and very properly too, by the name of an odd fellow: for what is it less than extreme oddity to despise what the generality of the world think the labour of their whole lives well employed in procuring? we are therefore to adapt our behaviour to the opinion of the generality of mankind, and not to that of a few odd fellows.

It would be tedious, and perhaps impossible, to specify every instance, or to lay down exact rules for our conduct in every minute particular. However, I shall mention some of the chief which most ordinarily occur, after premising, that the business of the whole is no more than to convey to others an idea of your esteem

Digitized by Google

esteem of them, which is indeed the substance of all the compliments, ceremonies, presents, and whatever passes between well-bred people. And here I shall lay down these positions:

First, that all mere ceremonies exist in form only, and have in them no substance at all: but being imposed by the laws of custom, become essential to good-breeding, from those high-flown compliments paid to the Eastern monarchs, and which pass between Chinese Mandarines, to those coarser ceremonials in use between English farmers and Dutch boors.

Secondly, that these ceremonies, poor as they are, are of more consequence than they at first appear, and, in reality, constitute the only external difference between man and man. Thus, His Grace, Right Honourable, My Lord, Right Reverend, Reverend, Honourable, Sir, Esquire, Mr, *&c.* have, in a philosophical sense, no meaning, yet are, perhaps, politically essential, and must be preserved by good-breeding; because,

Thirdly, they raise an expectation in the person by law and custom entitled to them, and who will consequently be displeased with the disappointment.

Now, in order to descend minutely into any rules for good-breeding, it will be necessary to lay some scene, or to throw our disciple into some particular circumstance. We will begin then with a visit in the country; and as the principal actor on this occasion is the person who receives it, we will, as briefly as possible, lay down some general rules for his conduct; marking, at the same time, the principal deviations we have observed on these occasions.

When an expected guest arrives to dinner at your house, if your equal, or indeed not greatly your inferior, he should be sure to find your family in some order, and yourself dressed, and ready to receive him at your gate with a smiling countenance. This infuses an immediate chearfulness into your guest, and persuades him of your esteem and desire of his com-

pany. Not so is the behaviour of Polysperchon, at whose gate you are obliged to knock a considerable time before you gain admittance. At length, the door being opened to you by a maid, or some improper servant, who wonders where the devil all the men were; and being asked if the gentleman is at home, answers, she believes so; you are conducted into a hall or back parlour, where you stay some time, before the gentleman, in a dishabille from his study or his garden, waits upon you, asks pardon, and assures you he did not expect you so soon.

Your guest, being introduced into a drawing-room, is, after the first ceremonies, to be asked, whether he will refresh himself after his journey, before dinner, (for which he is never to stay longer than the usual or fixed hour.) But this request is never to be repeated oftner than twice; and not in imitation of Calepus, who, as if hired by a physician, crams wine in a morning down the throats of his most temperate friends, their constitutions being not so dear to them as their present quiet.

When dinner is on the table, and the ladies have taken their places, the gentlemen are to be introduced into the eating-room, where they are to be seated with as much seeming indifference as possible, unless there be any present whose degrees claim an undoubted precedence. As to the rest, the general rules of precedence are by marriage, age, and profession. Lastly, in placing your guests, regard is rather to be had to birth than fortune: for though purse-pride is forward enough to exalt itself, it bears a degradation with more secret comfort and ease than the former, as being more inwardly satisfied with itself, and less apprehensive of neglect or contempt.

The order in helping your guests is to be regulated by that of placing them; but here I must with great submission recommend to the lady at the upper-end of the table, to distribute her favours as equally and as impartially as she can. I have sometimes seen a large dish of fish extend no farther than to the fifth person, and a haunch of venison lose all its fat before half the table had tasted it.

A single

Digitized by Google

A single request to eat of any particular dish, how elegant soever, is the most I allow. I strictly prohibit all earnest solicitations, all complaints that you have no appetite, which are sometimes little less than burlesque, and always impertinent and troublesome.

And here, however low it may appear to some readers, as I have known omissions of this kind give offence, and sometimes make the offenders, who have been very well-meaning persons, ridiculous, I cannot help mentioning the ceremonial of drinking healths at table, which is always to begin with the lady's and next the master's of the house.

When dinner is ended, and the ladies retired, though I do not hold the master of the feast obliged to fuddle himself through complaisance (and, indeed, it is his own fault generally, if his company be such as would desire it) yet, he is to see that the bottle circulate sufficiently to afford every person present a moderate quantity of wine, if he chuses it; at the same time permitting those who desire it, either to pass the bottle, or fill their glass as they please. Indeed, the beastly custom of besotting, and ostentatious contention for pre-eminence in their cups, seems at present pretty well abolished among the better sort of people. Yet Methus still remains, who measures the honesty and understanding of mankind by the capaciousness of their swallow; who sings forth the praises of a bumper, and complains of the light in your glass; and at whose table it is as difficult to preserve your senses, as to preserve your purse at a gaming-table, or your health at a b----y house. On the other side, Sophronus eyes you carefully whilst you are filling out his liquor. The bottle as surely stops when it comes to him, as your chariot at Temple-Bar; and it is almost as impossible to carry a pint of wine from his house, as to gain the love of a reigning beauty, or borrow a shilling of P---- W----.

But to proceed. After a reasonable time, if your guest intends staying with you the whole evening, and declines the bottle, you may propose play, walking, or any other amusement; but these are to be but barely mentioned, and offered to his choice with all indif-

Digitized by Google

ference on your part. What person can be so dull as not to perceive in Agyrtes a longing to pick your pockets? or in Alazon, a desire to satisfy his own vanity, in shewing you the rarities of his house and gardens? When your guest offers to go, there should be no solicitations to stay, unless for the whole night, and that no farther than to give him a moral assurance of his being welcome so to do: no assertions that he shan't go yet; no laying on violent hands; no private orders to servants, to delay providing the horses or vehicles; like Desmophylax, who never suffers any one to depart from his house without entitling him to an action of false imprisonment.

Let us now consider a little the part which the visitor himself is to act. And, first, he is to avoid the two extremes of being too early, or too late, so as neither to surprise his friend unawares or unprovided, nor detain him too long in expectation. Orthrius, who hath nothing to do, disturbs your rest in a morning; and the frugal Chronophideus, lest he should waste some minutes of his precious time, is sure to spoil your dinner.

The address at your arrival should be as short as possible, especially when you visit a superior; not imitating Phlenaphius, who would stop his friend in the rain, rather than omit a single bow.

Be not too observant of trifling ceremonies, such as rising, sitting, walking first in or out of the room, except with one greatly your superior; but when such a one offers you precedence, it is uncivil to refuse it: of which I will give you the following instance. An English nobleman, being in France, was bid by Lewis XIV. to enter his coach before him, which he excused himself from; the king then immediately mounted, and ordering the door to be shut, drove on, leaving the nobleman behind him.

Never refuse any thing offered you out of civility, unless in preference of a lady, and that no oftner than once; for nothing is more truly good-breeding, than to avoid being troublesome. Though the taste and humour of the visitor is to be chiefly considered, yet is some regard likewise to be had to that of the master of the

Digitized by Google

the houſe; for otherwiſe your company will be rather a penance than a pleaſure. Methuſus plainly diſcovers his viſit to be paid to his ſober friend's bottle; nor will Philopaſus abſtain from cards, though he is certain they are agreeable only to himſelf; whilſt the ſlender Leptines gives his fat entertainer a ſweat, and makes him run the hazard of breaking his wind up his own mounts.

If conveniency allows your ſtaying longer than the time propoſed, it may be civil to offer to depart, leſt your ſtay may be incommodious to your friend: but if you perceive the contrary, by his ſolicitations, they ſhould be readily accepted; without tempting him to break theſe rules we have above laid down for him; cauſing a confuſion in his family, and among his ſervants, by preparation for your departure. Laſtly, when you are reſolved to go, the ſame method is to be obſerved which I have preſcribed at your arrival. No tedious ceremonies of taking leave: not like Hyperphylus, who bows and kiſſes, and ſqueezes by the hand as heartily, and wiſhes you as much health and happineſs, when he is going a journey home of ten miles, from a common acquaintance, as if he was leaving his neareſt friend or relation on a voyage to the Eaſt-Indies.

Having thus briefly conſidered our reader in the circumſtances of a private viſit, let us now take him into a public aſſembly, where, as more eyes will be on his behaviour, it cannot be leſs his intereſt to be inſtructed. We have, indeed, already formed a general picture of the chief enormities committed on theſe occaſions; we ſhall here endeavour to explain more particularly the rules of an oppoſite demeanour, which we may divide into three ſorts, *viz.* our behaviour to our ſuperiors, to our equals, and to our inferiors.

In our behaviour to our ſuperiors, two extremes are to be avoided, namely, an abject and baſe ſervility, and an impudent and encroaching freedom. When the well-born Hyperdulus approaches a nobleman in any public place, you would be perſuaded he was one of the meaneſt of his domeſtics: his cringes fall little

short of prostration; and his whole behaviour is so mean and servile, that an eastern monarch would not require more humiliation from his vassals. On the other side; Anaschyntus, whom fortunate accidents, without any pretensions from his birth, have raised to associate with his betters, shakes my Lord Duke by the hand, with a familiarity favouring not only of the most perfect intimacy, but the closest alliance. The former behaviour properly raises our contempt, the latter our disgust. Hyperdulus seems worthy of wearing his Lordship's livery; Anaschyntus deserves to be turned out of his service for his impudence. Between these two is that golden mean, which declares a man ready to acquiesce in allowing the respect due to a title by the laws and customs of his country, but impatient of any insult, and disdaining to purchase the intimacy with, and favour of, a superior, at the expence of conscience or honour. As to the question, who are our superiors; I shall endeavour to ascertain them, when I come, in the second place, to mention our behaviour to our equals. The first instruction on this head, being carefully to consider who are such: every little superiority of fortune or profession being too apt to intoxicate men's minds, and elevate them, in their own opinion, beyond their merit or pretensions. Men are superior to each other in this our country by title, by birth, by rank in profession, and by age; very little, if any, being to be allowed to fortune, though so much is generally exacted by it, and commonly paid to it. Mankind never appear to me in a more despicable light, than when I see them, by a simple, as well as mean servility, voluntarily concurring in the adoration of riches, without the least benefit or prospect from them. Respect and deference are, perhaps, justly demandable of the obliged, and may be, with some reason at least, from expectation, paid to the rich and liberal from the necessitous: but that men should be allured by the glittering of wealth only, to feed the insolent pride of those who will not in return feed their hunger; that the sordid niggard should find any sacrifices on the altar of his vanity, seems to arise from a blinder idolatry, and a more bigotted and senseless

super-

Digitized by Google

superstition, than any which the sharp eyes of priests have discovered in the human mind.

All gentlemen, therefore, who are not raised above each other by title, birth, rank in profession, age, or actual obligations, being to be considered as equals, let us take some lessons for their behaviour to each other in public, from the following examples; in which we shall discern as well what we are to elect, as what we are to avoid. Authades is so absolutely abandoned to his own humour, that he never gives it up on any occasion. If Seraphina herself, whose charms one would imagine should infuse alacrity into the limbs of a cripple sooner than the Bath waters, was to offer herself for his partner, he would answer, he never danced, even though the ladies lost their ball by it. Nor doth this denial arise from incapacity; for he was in his youth an excellent dancer, and still retains sufficient knowledge of the art, and sufficient abilities in his limbs to practise it; but from an affectation of gravity, which he will not sacrifice to the eagerest desire of others. Dyskolus hath the same aversion to cards; and though competently skilled in all games, is by no importunities to be prevailed on to make a third at ombre, or a fourth at whisk and quadrille. He will suffer any company to be disappointed of their amusement, rather than submit to pass an hour or two a little disagreeably to himself. The refusal of Philautus is not so general: he is very ready to engage, provided you will indulge him in any favourite game, but it is impossible to persuade him to any other. I should add, both these are men of fortune; and the consequences of loss or gain, at the rate they are desired to engage, very trifling and inconsiderable to them.

The rebukes these people sometimes meet with, are no more equal to their deserts than the honour paid to Charistus, the benevolence of whose mind scarce permits him to indulge his own will, unless by accident. Though neither his age nor understanding incline him to dance, nor will admit his receiving any pleasure from it, yet would he caper a whole evening, rather than a fine young lady should lose an opportunity

portunity of displaying her charms by the several genteel and amiable attitudes which this exercise affords the skilful of that sex. And tho' cards are not adapted to his temper, he never once baulked the inclinations of others on that account.

But as there are many who will not in the least instance mortify their own humour to purchase the satisfaction of all mankind, so there are some who make no scruple of satisfying their own pride and vanity, at the expence of the most cruel mortification of others. Of this kind is Agroicus, who seldom goes to an assembly, but he affronts half his acquaintance, by overlooking or disregarding them.

As this is a very common offence, and indeed much more criminal, both in its cause and effect, than is generally imagined, I shall examine it very minutely; and I doubt not but to make it appear, that there is no behaviour (to speak like a philosopher) more contemptible, nor, in a civil sense, more detestible than this.

The first ingredient in this composition is pride, which, according to the doctrine of some, is the universal passion. There are others, who consider it as the foible of great minds; and others again, who will have it to be the very foundation of greatness; and, perhaps, it may of that greatness which we have endeavoured to expose in many parts of these works: but to real greatness, which is the union of a good heart with a good head, it is almost diametrically opposite, as it generally proceeds from the depravity of both, and almost certainly from the badness of the latter. Indeed, a little observation will shew us, that fools are the most addicted to this vice; and a little reflection will teach us, that it is incompatible with true understanding. Accordingly we see, that while the wisest of men have constantly lamented the imbecility and imperfection of their own nature, the meanest and weakest have been trumpeting forth their own excellencies, and triumphing in their own sufficiency.

Pride may, I think, be properly defined, the pleasure we feel in contemplating our own superior merit, on comparing it with that of others. That it arises from

Digitized by Google

from this supposed superiority, is evident: for however great you admit a man's merit to be, if all men were equal to him, there would be no room for pride. Now if it stop here, perhaps, there is no enormous harm in it, or, at least, no more than is common to all other folly; every species of which is always liable to produce every species of mischief: folly I fear it is; for should the man estimate rightly on this occasion, and the balance should fairly turn on his side in this particular instance; should he be indeed a greater orator, poet, general; should he be more wise, witty, learned, young, rich, healthy, or in whatever instance he may excel one, or many, or all; yet, if he examine himself thoroughly, will he find no reason to abate his pride? is the quality, in which he is so eminent, so generally or justly esteemed? is it so entirely his own? doth he not rather owe his superiority to the defects of others, than to his own perfection? or, lastly, can he find in no part of his character a weakness, which may counterpoise this merit, and which as justly, at least, threatens him with shame, as this entices him to pride? I fancy, if such a scrutiny was made (and nothing so ready as good sense to make it,) a proud man would be as rare, as in reality he is a ridiculous monster. But suppose a man, on this comparison, is (as may sometimes happen) a little partial to himself, the harm is to himself, and he becomes only ridiculous from it. If I prefer my excellence in poetry to Pope or Young; if an inferior actor should, in his opinion, exceed Quin or Garrick; or a sign-post painter set himself above the inimitable Hogarth; we become only ridiculous by our vanity; and the persons themselves, who are thus humbled in the comparison, would laugh with more reason than any other. Pride, therefore, hitherto, seems an inoffensive weakness only, and entitles a man to no worse an appellation than that of a fool: but it will not stop here; though fool be perhaps no desirable term, the proud man will deserve worse: he is not contented with the admiration he pays himself; he now becomes arrogant, and requires the same respect and preference from the world; for pride, though the greatest

Digitized by Google

greateſt of flatterers, is by no means a profitable ſervant to itſelf; it reſembles the parſon of the pariſh more than the ſquire, and lives rather on the tithes, oblations, and contributions, it collects from others, than on its own demeſne. As pride therefore is ſeldom without arrogance, ſo is this never to be found without inſolence. The arrogant man muſt be inſolent, in order to attain his own ends: and to convince and remind men of the ſuperiority he affects, will naturally, by ill words, actions, and geſtures, endeavour to throw the deſpiſed perſon at as much diſtance as poſſible from him. Hence proceeds that ſupercilious look, and all thoſe viſible indignities with which men behave in public, to thoſe whom they fancy their inferiors. Hence the very notable cuſtom of deriding and often denying the neareſt relations, friends, and acquaintance, in poverty and diſtreſs; leſt we ſhould anywiſe be levelled with the wretches we deſpiſe, either in their own imagination, or in the conceit of any who ſhould behold familiarities paſs between us.

But beſides pride, folly, arrogance, and inſolence, there is another ſimple, which vice never willingly leaves out of any compoſition; and this is ill-nature. A good-natured man may indeed (provided he is a fool) be proud, but arrogant and inſolent he cannot be; unleſs we will allow to ſuch a ſtill higher degree of folly, an ignorance of human nature; which may indeed entitle them to forgiveneſs, in the benign language of Scripture, becauſe they know not what they do.

For when we come to conſider the effect of this behaviour on the perſon who ſuffers it, we may perhaps have reaſon to conclude, that murder is not a much more cruel injury. What is the conſequence of this contempt? or, indeed, what is the deſign of it, but to expoſe the object of it to ſhame? a ſenſation as uneaſy, and almoſt intolerable, as thoſe which ariſe from the ſevereſt pains inflicted on the body: a convulſion of the mind (if I may ſo call it) which immediately produces ſymptoms of univerſal diſorder in the whole man; which hath ſometimes been attended with death itſelf; and to which death hath, by great multitudes

Digitized by Google

titudes, been with much alacrity preferred. Now, what leſs than the higheſt degree of ill-nature can permit a man to pamper his own vanity at the price of another's ſhame? Is the glutton, who, to raiſe the flavour of his diſh put ſome birds or beaſts to exquiſite torment, more cruel to the animal, than this our proud man to his own ſpecies?

This character then is a compoſition made up of thoſe odious contemptible qualities, pride, folly, arrogance, inſolence, and ill-nature. I ſhall diſmiſs it with ſome general obſervations, which will place it in ſo ridiculous a light, that a man muſt hereafter be poſſeſſed of a very conſiderable portion, either of folly or impudence, to aſſume it.

Firſt, It proceeds on one grand fallacy: for whereas this wretch is endeavouring, by a ſupercilious conduct, to lead the beholder into an opinion of his ſuperiority to the deſpiſed perſon, he inwardly flatters his own vanity with a deceitful preſumption, that this his conduct is founded on a general pre-conceived opinion of this ſuperiority.

Secondly, This caution to preſerve it, plainly indicates a doubt, that the ſuperiority of our own character is very ſlightly eſtabliſhed; for which reaſon we ſee it chiefly practiſed by men who have the weakeſt pretenſions to the reputation they aim at; and, indeed, none was ever freer from it than that noble perſon whom we have already mentioned in this eſſay, and who can never be mentioned but with honour, by thoſe who know him.

Thirdly, This opinion of our ſuperiority is commonly very erroneous. Who hath not ſeen a general behaving in this ſupercilious manner to an officer of lower rank, who hath been greatly his ſuperior in that very art, to his excellence in which the general aſcribes all his merit! Parallel inſtances occur in every other art, ſcience, or profeſſion.

Fourthly, Men who excel others in trifling inſtances, frequently caſt a ſupercilious eye on their ſuperiors in the higheſt. Thus the leaſt pretenſions to pre-eminence in title, birth, riches, equipage, dreſs, *&c.* conſtantly overlook the moſt noble endowments

Digitized by Google

ments of virtue, honour, wiſdom, ſenſe, wit, and every other quality which can truly dignify and adorn a man.

Laſtly, The loweſt and meaneſt of our ſpecies are the moſt ſtrongly addicted to this vice; men who are a ſcandal to their ſex, and women who diſgrace human nature: for the baſeſt mechanic is ſo far from being exempt, that he is generally the moſt guilty of it. It viſits alehouſes and ginſhops, and whiſtles in the empty heads of fidlers, mountebanks, and dancing-maſters.

To conclude a character, on which we have already dwelt longer than is conſiſtent with the intended meaſure of this eſſay: this contempt of others is the trueſt ſymptom of a baſe and a bad heart. While it ſuggeſts itſelf to the mean and the vile, and tickles their little fancy on every occaſion, it never enters the great and good mind, but on the ſtrongeſt motives: nor is it then a welcome gueſt, affording only an uneaſy ſenſation, and brings always with it a mixture of concern and compaſſion.

We will now proceed to inferior criminals in ſociety. Theoretus, conceiving that the aſſembly is only met to ſee and admire him, is uneaſy unleſs he engroſſes the eyes of the whole company. The giant doth not take more pains to be viewed; and as he is unfortunately not ſo tall, he carefully depoſits himſelf in the moſt conſpicuous place: nor will that ſuffice; he muſt walk about the room, though to the great diſturbance of the company; and if he can purchaſe general obſervation, at no leſs rate will condeſcend to be ridiculous; for he prefers being laughed at, to being taken little notice of.

On the other ſide, Duſopius is ſo baſhful, that he hides himſelf in a corner; he hardly bears being looked at, and never quits the firſt chair he lights upon, leſt he ſhould expoſe himſelf to public view. He trembles when you bow to him at a diſtance, is ſhocked at hearing his own voice, and would almoſt ſwoon at the repetition of his name.

The audacious Anedes, who is extremely amorous in

Digitized by Google

in his inclinations, never likes a woman, but his eyes ask her the question; without considering the confusion he often occasions to the object: he ogles and languishes at every pretty woman in the room. As there is no law of morality which he would not break to satisfy his desires, so is there no form of civility which he doth not violate to communicate them. When he gets possession of a woman's hand, which those of stricter decency never give him but with reluctance, he considers himself as its master. Indeed, there is scarce a familiarity which he will abstain from, on the slightest acquaintance, and in the most public place. Seraphina herself can make no impression on the rough temper of Agroicus; neither her quality, nor her beauty, can exact the least complacence from him; and he would let her lovely limbs ach, rather than offer her his chair: while the gentle Lyperus tumbles over benches, and overthrows tea-tables, to take up a fan or a glove: he forces you, as a good parent doth his child, for your own good: he is absolute master of a lady's will, nor will allow her the election of standing or sitting in his company. In short, the impertinent civility of Lyperus is as troublesome, though, perhaps, not so offensive, as the brutish rudeness of Agroicus.

Thus we have hinted at most of the common enormities committed in public assemblies, to our equals; for it would be tedious and difficult to enumerate all: nor is it needful; since from this sketch we may trace all others, most of which, I believe, will be found to branch out from some of the particulars here specified.

I am now, in the last place, to consider our behaviour to our inferiors: in which condescension can never be too strongly recommended; for as a deviation on this side is much more innocent than on the other, so the pride of man renders us much less liable to it. For besides that we are apt to over-rate our own perfections, and undervalue the qualifications of our neighbours, we likewise set too high an esteem on the things themselves, and consider them as constituting a more essential difference between us than they really do.

Digitized by Google

The qualities of the mind do, in reality, eſtabliſh the trueſt ſuperiority over one another; yet ſhould not theſe ſo far elevate our pride, as to inflate us with contempt, and make us look down on our fellow-creatures as on animals of an inferior order: but that the fortuitous accident of birth, the acquiſition of wealth, with ſome outward ornaments of dreſs ſhould inſpire men with an inſolence capable of treating the reſt of mankind with diſdain, is ſo prepoſterous, that nothing leſs than daily experience could give it credit.

If men were to be rightly eſtimated, and divided into ſubordinate claſſes, according to the ſuperior excellence of their ſeveral natures, perhaps the loweſt claſs of either ſex would be properly aſſigned to thoſe two diſgracers of the human ſpecies, commonly called a beau, and a fine lady: for if we rate men by the faculties of the mind, in what degree muſt theſe ſtand? nay, admitting the qualities of the body were to give the pre-eminence, how many of thoſe whom Fortune hath placed in the loweſt ſtation, muſt be ranked above them? If dreſs is their only title, ſure even the monkey, if as well dreſſed, is on as high a footing as the beau.---But, perhaps, I ſhall be told, they challenge their dignity from birth: that is a poor and mean pretence to honour, when ſupported with no other. Perſons who have no better claim to ſuperiority ſhould be aſhamed of this; they are really a diſgrace to thoſe very anceſtors from whom they would derive their pride, and are chiefly happy in this, that they want the very moderate portion of underſtanding which would enable them to deſpiſe themſelves.

And yet, who ſo prone to a contemptuous carriage as theſe! I have myſelf ſeen a little female thing, which they have called My Lady, of no greater dignity in the order of beings than a cat, and of no more uſe to ſociety than a butterfly; whoſe mein would not give even the idea of a gentlewoman, and whoſe face would cool the looſeſt libertine; with a mind as empty of ideas as an opera, and a body fuller of diſeaſes than an hoſpital; I have ſeen this thing expreſs contempt to a woman who was an honour to her ſex, and an ornament to the creation.

To

Digitized by Google

To confess the truth, there is little danger of the possessor's ever undervaluing this titular excellence. Not that I would withdraw from it that deference which the policy of government hath assigned it. On the contrary, I have laid down the most exact compliance with this respect, as a fundamental in good-breeding; nay, I insist only that we may be admitted to pay it; and not treated with a disdain even beyond what the eastern monarchs shew to their slaves. Surely it is too high an elevation, when, instead of treating the lowest human creature, in a Christian sense, as our brethren, we look down on such as are but one rank, in the civil order, removed from us, as unworthy to brea he even the same air, and regard the most distant communication with them as an indignity and disgrace offered to ourselves. This is considering the difference, not in the individual, but in the very species; a height of insolence impious in a Christian society, and most absurd and ridiculous in a trading nation.

I have now done with my first head, in which I have treated of good-breeding, as it regards our actions. I shall, in the next place, consider with respect to our words; and shall endeavour to lay down some rules, by observing which our well-bred men may, in his discourse as well as actions, contribute to the happiness and well-being of society.

Certain it is, that the highest pleasure which we are capable of enjoying in conversation, is to be met with only in the society of persons whose understanding is pretty near on an equality with our own: nor is this equality only necessary to enable men of exalted genius, and extensive knowledge, to taste the sublimer pleasures of communicating their refined ideas to each other; but it is likewise necessary to the inferior happiness of every subordinate degree of society, down to the very lowest. For instance; we will suppose a conversation between Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, and three dancing-masters. It will be acknowledged, I believe, that the heel Sophists would be as little pleased with the company of the philosophers, as the philosophers with theirs.

Digitized by Google

It would be greatly therefore for the improvement and happineſs of converſation, if ſociety could be formed on this equality: but as men are not ranked in this world by the different degrees of their underſtanding, but by other methods, and conſequently all degrees of underſtanding often meet in the ſame claſs, and muſt *ex neceſſitate* frequently converſe together, the impoſſibility of accompliſhing any ſuch Utopian ſcheme very plainly appears. Here therefore is a viſible, but unavoidable imperfection in ſociety itſelf.

But as we have laid it down as a fundamental, that the eſſence of good-breeding is to contribute as much as poſſible to the eaſe and happineſs of mankind, ſo will it be the buſineſs of our well-bred man to endeavour to leſſen this imperfection to his utmoſt, and to bring ſociety as near to a level at leaſt as he is able.

Now there are but two ways to compaſs this, *viz.* by raiſing the lower, and by lowering what is higher.

Let us ſuppoſe then, that very unequal company I have before mentioned met: the former of theſe is apparently impracticable. Let Socrates, for inſtance, inſtitute a diſcourſe on the nature of the ſoul, or Plato reaſon on the native beauty of virtue, and Ariſtotle on his occult qualities.----What muſt become of our dancing-maſters? Would they not ſtare at one another with ſurpriſe? and, moſt probably, at our philoſophers with contempt? Would they have any pleaſure in ſuch ſociety? or would they not rather wiſh themſelves in a dancing-ſchool, or a green-room at the play-houſe? What therefore have our philoſophers to do, but to lower themſelves to thoſe who cannot riſe to them.

And ſurely there are ſubjects on which both can converſe. Hath not Socrates heard of harmony? Hath not Plato, who draws virtue in the perſon of a fine woman, an idea of the gracefulneſs of attitude? and hath not Ariſtotle himſelf written a book on motion? In ſhort, to be a little ſerious, there are many topics on which they can at leaſt be intelligible to each other.

How

Digitized by Google

How abſurd then muſt appear the conduct of Cenodoxus, who, having had the advantage of a liberal education, and having made a pretty good progreſs in literature, is conſtantly advancing learned ſubjects in common converſation? he talks of the claſſics before the ladies; and of Greek criticiſms among fine gentlemen. What is this leſs than an inſult on the company, over whom he thus affects a ſuperiority, and whoſe time he ſacrifices to his vanity?

Wiſely different is the amiable conduct of Sophronus; who, though he exceeds the former in knowledge, can ſubmit to diſcourſe on the moſt trivial matters, rather than introduce ſuch as his company are utter ſtrangers to. He can talk of faſhions and diverſions among the ladies; nay, can even condeſcend to horſes and dogs with country gentlemen. This gentleman, who is equal to diſpute on the higheſt and abſtruſeſt points, can likewiſe talk on a fan, or a horſe-race; nor had ever any one, who was not himſelf a man of learning, the leaſt reaſon to conceive the vaſt knowledge of Sophronus, unleſs from the report of others.

Let us compare theſe together. Cenodoxus propoſes the ſatisfaction of his own pride from the admiration of others; Sophronus thinks of nothing but their amuſement. In the company of Cenodoxus, every one is rendered uneaſy, laments his own want of knowledge, and longs for the end of the dull aſſembly: with Sophronus all are pleaſed, and contented with themſelves in their knowledge of matters which they find worthy the conſideration of a man of ſenſe. Admiration is involuntarily paid the former; to the latter it is given joyfully. The former receives it with envy and hatred; the latter enjoys it as the ſweet fruit of good-will. The former is ſhunned; the latter courted by all.

This behaviour in Cenodoxus may, in ſome meaſure, account for an obſervation we muſt have frequent occaſion to make: that the converſation of men of very moderate capacities is often preferred to that with men of ſuperior talents: in which the world act more wiſely than at firſt they may ſeem; for beſides

Digitized by Google

that backwardneſs in mankind to give their admiration, what can be duller, or more void of pleaſure, than diſcourſes on ſubjects above our comprehenſion! It is like liſtening to an unknown language; and if ſuch company is ever deſired by us, it is a ſacrifice to our vanity, which impoſes on us to believe that we may by theſe means raiſe the general opinion of our own parts and knowledge, and not from that chearful delight which is the natural reſult of an agreeable converſation.

There is another very common fault equally deſtructive of this delight, by much the ſame means; though it is far from owing its original to any real ſuperiority of parts and knowledge: this is diſcourſing on the myſteries of a particular profeſſion, to which all the reſt of the company, except one or two, are utter ſtrangers. Lawyers are generally guilty of this fault, as they are more confined to the converſation of one another; and I have known a very agreeable company ſpoilt, where there have been two of theſe gentlemen preſent, who have ſeemed rather to think themſelves in a court of juſtice, than in a mixed aſſembly of perſons met only for the entertainment of each other.

But it is not ſufficient that the whole company underſtand the topic of their converſation; they ſhould be likewiſe equally intereſted in every ſubject not tending to their general information or amuſement; for theſe are not to be poſtponed to the relation of private affairs, much leſs of the particular grievance or misfortune of a ſingle perſon. To bear a ſhare in the afflictions of another, is a degree of friendſhip not to be expected in a common acquaintance; nor hath any man a right to indulge the ſatisfaction of a weak and mean mind by the comfort of pity, at the expence of the whole company's diverſion. The inferior and unſucceſsful members of the ſeveral profeſſions are generally guilty of this fault; for as they fail of the reward due to their great merit, they can ſeldom refrain from reviling their ſuperiors, and complaining of their own hard and unjuſt fate.

Farther; as a man is not to make himſelf the ſub-

ject

Digitized by Google

ject of the converſation, ſo neither is he to engroſs the whole to himſelf. As every man had rather pleaſe others by what he ſays, than be himſelf pleaſed by what they ſay; or, in other words, as every man is beſt pleaſed with the conſciouſneſs of pleaſing; ſo ſhould all have an equal opportunity of aiming at it. This is a right which we are ſo offended at being deprived of, that though I remember to have known a man reputed a good companion, who ſeldom opened his mouth in company, unleſs to ſwallow his liquor; yet I have ſcarce ever heard that appellation given to a very talkative perſon, even when he hath been capable of entertaining, unleſs he hath done this with buffoonry, and made the reſt amends, by partaking of their ſcorn, together with their admiration and applauſe.

A well-bred man therefore will not take more of the diſcourſe than falls to his ſhare: nor in this will he ſhew any violent impetuoſity of temper, or exert any loudneſs of voice, even in arguing: for the information of the company, and the conviction of his antagoniſt, are to be his apparent motives; not the indulgence of his own pride, or an ambitious deſire of victory; which latter, if a wiſe man ſhould entertain, he will be ſure to conceal with his utmoſt endeavour: ſince he muſt know, that to lay open his vanity in public, is no leſs abſurd than to lay open his boſom to an enemy, whoſe drawn ſword is pointed againſt it: for every man hath a dagger in his hand, ready to ſtab the vanity of another, wherever he perceives it.

Having now ſhewn, that the pleaſure of converſation muſt ariſe from the diſcourſe being on ſubjects levelled to the capacity of the whole company; from being on ſuch in which every perſon is equally intereſted; from every one's being admitted to his ſhare in the diſcourſe; and, laſtly, from carefully avoiding all noiſe, violence, and impetuoſity; it might ſeem proper to lay down ſome particular rules for the choice of thoſe ſubjects which are moſt likely to conduce to the chearful delights propoſed from his ſocial communication: but as ſuch an attempt might appear abſurd,

Digitized by Google

abſurd, from the infinite variety, and perhaps too dictatorial in its nature, I ſhall confine myſelf to rejecting thoſe topics only which ſeem moſt foreign to this delight, and which are moſt likely to be attended with conſequences rather tending to make ſociety an evil, than to procure us any good from it.

And firſt, I ſhall mention that which I have hitherto only endeavoured to reſtrain within certain bounds, namely, Arguments: but which, if they were entirely baniſhed out of company, eſpecially from mixed aſſemblies, and where ladies make part of the ſociety, it would, I believe, promote their happineſs; they have been ſometimes attended with bloodſhed, generally with hatred from the conquered party towards his victor; and ſcarce ever with conviction. Here I except jocoſe arguments, which often produce much mirth; and ſerious diſputes between men of learning (when none but ſuch are preſent,) which tend to the propagation of knowledge, and the edification of the company.

Secondly, Slander; which, however frequently uſed, or however ſavory to the palate of ill-nature, is extremely pernicious; as it is often unjuſt, and highly injurious to the perſon ſlandered; and always dangerous, eſpecially in large and mixed companies; where ſometimes an undeſigned offence is given to an innocent relation or friend of ſuch perſon, who is thus expoſed to ſhame and confuſion, without having any right to reſent the affront. Of this there have been very tragical inſtances; and I have myſelf ſeen ſome very ridiculous ones, but which have given great pain, as well to the perſon offended, as to him who hath been the innocent occaſion of giving the offence.

Thirdly; All general Reflections on countries, religions, and profeſſions, which are always unjuſt. If theſe are ever tolerable, they are only from the perſons who with ſome pleaſantry redicule their own country. It is very common among us to caſt ſarcaſms on a neighbouring nation, to which we have no other reaſon to bear an antipathy, than what is more uſual than juſtifiable, becauſe we have injured

it;

Digitized by Google

it: but ſure ſuch general ſatire is not founded on truth: for I have known gentlemen of that nation poſſeſſed with every good quality which is to be wiſhed in a man or required in a friend. I remember a repartee made by a gentlemen of this country, which, though it was full of the ſevereſt wit, the perſon to whom it was directed could not reſent, as he ſo plainly deſerved it. He had with great bitterneſs inveighed againſt this whole people; upon which, one of them, who was preſent, very cooly anſwered, "I "don't know, Sir, whether I have not more reaſon "to be pleaſed with the compliment you pay my "country, than to be angry with what you ſay "againſt it; ſince, by your abuſing us all ſo heavily, "you have plainly implied you are not of it." This expoſed the other to ſo much laughter, eſpecially as he was not unexceptionable in his character, that I believe he was ſufficiently puniſhed for his ill-mannered ſatire.

Fourthly; Blaſphemy, and irreverend mention of religion. I will not here debate what compliment a man pays to his own underſtanding, by the profeſſion of infidelity; it is ſufficient to my purpoſe, that he runs a riſque of giving the cruelleſt offence to perſons of a different temper; for if a loyaliſt would be greatly affronted by hearing any indecencies offered to the perſon of a temporal prince, how much more bitterly muſt a man, who ſincerely believes in ſuch a being as the Almighty, feel any irreverence, or inſult ſhewn to his name, his honour, or his inſtitution? And notwithſtanding the impious character of the preſent age, and eſpecially of many among thoſe whoſe more immediate buſineſs it is to lead men, as well by example as precept, into the ways of piety, there are ſtill ſufficient numbers left, who pay ſo honeſt and ſincere a reverence to religion, as may give us a reaſonable expectation of finding one at leaſt of this ſtamp in every large company.

A fifth particular to be avoided is Indecency. We are not only to forbear the repeating of ſuch words as would give an immediate affront to a lady of reputation; but the raiſing of any looſe ideas tending to the offence

Digitized by Google

offence of that modesty, which, if a young woman hath not something more than the affectation of, she is not worthy the regard even of a man of pleasure, provided he hath any delicacy in his constitution. How inconsistent with good breeding it is to give pain and confusion to such, is sufficiently apparent; all double intendres, and obscene jests, are therefore carefully to be avoided before them. But suppose no ladies present, nothing can be meaner, lower, and less productive of rational mirth, than this loose conversation. For my own part, I cannot conceive how the idea of jest or pleasantry came ever to be annexed to one of our highest and most serious pleasures. Nor can I help observing, to the discredit of such merriment, that it is commonly the last resource of impotent wit, the weak strainings of the lowest, silliest, and dullest fellows in the world.

Sixthly; You are to avoid knowingly mentioning any thing which may revive in any person the remembrance of some past accident; or raise an uneasy reflection on a present misfortune, or corporal blemish. To maintain this rule nicely, perhaps, requires great delicacy; but it is absolutely necessary to a well-bred man. I have observed numberless breaches of it; many, I believe, proceeding from negligence and inadvertency; yet I am afraid some may be too justly imputed to a malicious desire of triumphing in our own superior happiness and perfections: now, when it proceeds from this motive, it is not easy to imagine any thing more criminal.

Under this head, I shall caution my well-bred reader against a common fault, much of the same nature; which is, mentioning any particular quality as absolutely essential either to man or woman, and exploding all those who want it. This renders every one uneasy, who is in the least self-conscious of the defect. I have heard a boor of fashion declare in the presence of women remarkably plain, that beauty was the chief perfection of that sex; and an essential, without which no woman was worth regarding. A certain method of putting all those in the room, who are but suspicious of their defect that way, out of countenance.

I shall

Digitized by Google

I shall mention one fault more, which is, not paying a proper regard to the present temper of the company, or the occasion of their meeting, in introducing a topic of conversation, by which as great an absurdity is sometimes committed, as it would be to sing a dirge at a wedding, or an epithalamium at a funeral.

Thus I have, I think, enumerated most of the principal errors which we are apt to fall into in conversation; and though, perhaps, some particulars worthy of remark may have escaped me, yet an attention to what I have here said, may enable the reader to discover them. At least, I am persuaded, that if the rules I have now laid down were strictly observed, our conversation would be more perfect, and the pleasure resulting from it purer, and more unsullied, than at present it is.

But I must not dismiss this subject without some animadversions on a particular species of pleasantry, which, though I am far from being desirous of banishing from conversation, requires, most certainly, some reins to govern, and some rules to direct it. The reader may perhaps guess, I mean Raillery; to which I may apply the fable of the lap-dog and the ass: for while in some hands it diverts and delights us with its dexterity and gentleness; in others, it paws, daubs, offends, and hurts.

The end of conversation being the happiness of mankind, and the chief means to procure their delight and pleasure; it follows, I think, that nothing can conduce to this end, which tends to make a man uneasy and dissatisfied with himself, or which exposes him to the scorn and contempt of others. I here except that kind of raillery, therefore, which is concerned in tossing men out of their chairs, tumbling them into water, or any of those handicraft jokes which are exercised on those notable persons, commonly known by the name of buffoons; who are contented to feed their belly at the price of their br---ch, and to carry off the wine and the p--s of a great man together. This I pass by, as well as all remarks on the genius of the great men themselves, who are (to fetch

Digitized by Google

fetch a phraſe from ſchool, a place not improperly mentioned on this occaſion) great daubs at this kind of facetiouſneſs.

But leaving all ſuch perſons to expoſe human nature among themſelves, I ſhall recommend to my well-bred man, who aims at raillery, the excellent character given of Horace by Perſius:

Omne vafer vitium ridenti Flaccus amico
Tangit, et admiſſus circum præcordia ludit,
Callidus excuſſo populum ſuſpendere naſo:

Thus excellently rendered by the late ingenious tranſlator of that obſcure author:

'Yet could ſhrewd Horace, with diſportive wit,
'Rally his friend, and tickle while he bit:
'Winning acceſs, he play'd around the heart,
'And, gently touching, prick'd the tainted part.
'The crowd he ſneer'd; but ſneer'd with ſuch a
'grace,
'It paſs'd for downright innocence of face.'

The raillery which is conſiſtent with good-breeding, is a gentle animadverſion on ſome foible; which, while it raiſes a laugh in the reſt of the company, doth not put the perſon rallied out of countenance, or expoſe him to ſhame and contempt. On the contrary, the jeſt ſhould be ſo delicate, that the object of it ſhould be capable of joining in the mirth it occaſions.

All great vices therefore, misfortunes, and notorious blemiſhes of mind or body, are improper ſubjects of raillery. Indeed, a hint at ſuch is an abuſe, and an affront which is ſure to give the perſon (unleſs he be one ſhameleſs and abandoned) pain and uneaſineſs, and ſhould be received with contempt, inſtead of applauſe, by all the reſt of the company.

Again; the nature and quality of the perſon are to be conſidered. As to the firſt, ſome men will not bear any raillery at all. I remember a gentleman, who declared, 'He never made a jeſt, nor would 'ever

Digitized by Google

'ever take one.' I do not, indeed, greatly recommend such a person for a companion; but, at the same time, a well-bred man, who is to consult the pleasure and happiness of the whole, is not at liberty to make any present uneasy. By the quality, I mean the sex, degree, profession, and circumstances; on which head I need not be very particular. With regard to the two former, all raillery on ladies and superiors should be extremely fine and gentle; and with respect to the latter, any of the rules I have above laid down, most of which are to be applied to it, will afford sufficient caution.

Lastly; A consideration is to be had of the persons before whom we rally. A man will be justly uneasy at being reminded of those railleries in one company, which he would very patiently bear the imputation of in another. Instances on this head are so obvious, that they need not be mentioned. In short, the whole doctrine of raillery is comprised in this famous

'*Quid* de *quoque* viro, et *cui* dicas, sæpe caveto.'

'Be cautious *what* you say, *of whom*, and *to whom*.'

And now, methinks, I hear some one cry out, that such restrictions are, in effect, to exclude all raillery from conversation: and, to confess the truth, it is a weapon from which many persons will do wisely in totally abstaining: for it is a weapon which doth the more mischief, by how much more the blunter it is. The sharpest wit therefore is only to be indulged the free use of it; for no more than a very slight touch is to be allowed; no hacking nor bruising, as if they were to hew a carcase for hounds, as Shakespeare phrases it.

Nor is it sufficient that it be sharp; it must be used likewise with the utmost tenderness and good-nature: and as the nicest dexterity of a gladiator is shewn in being able to hit without cutting deep, so is this of our raillier, who is rather to tickle than wound.

True raillery indeed consists either in playing on peccadilloes, which, however they may be censured

Digitized by Google

by ſome, are not eſteemed as really blemiſhes in a character in the company where they are made the ſubject of mirth; as too much freedom with the bottle, or too much indulgence with women, &c.

Or, ſecondly, in pleaſantly repreſenting real good qualities in a falſe light of ſhame, and bantering them as ill ones. So generoſity may be treated as prodigality; œconomy as avarice; true courage as fool-hardineſs; and ſo of the reſt.

Laſtly; in ridiculing men for vices and faults which they are known to be free from. Thus the cowardice of A-----le, the dullneſs of Ch------d, the unpoliteneſs of D----ton, may be attacked without danger of offence; and thus Lyt-----n may be cenſured for whatever vice or folly you pleaſe to impute to him.

And however limited theſe bounds may appear to ſome, yet, in ſkilful and witty hands, I have known raillery, thus confined, afford a very diverting, as well as inoffenſive entertainment to the whole company.

I ſhall conclude this Eſſay with theſe two obſervations, which I think may be clearly deduced from what hath been ſaid.

Firſt, That every perſon who indulges his ill-nature or vanity, at the expence of others, and in introducing uneaſineſs, vexation, and confuſion into ſociety, however exalted or high-titled he may be, is thoroughly ill-bred.

Secondly, That whoever, from the goodneſs of his diſpoſition or underſtanding, endeavours to his utmoſt to cultivate the good-humour and happineſs of others, and to contribute to the eaſe and comfort of all his acquaintance, however low in rank Fortune may have placed him, or however clumſy he may be in his figure or demeanor, hath, in the trueſt ſenſe of the word, a claim to good-breeding.

AN

Digitized by Google

AN
ESSAY
ON THE
KNOWLEDGE
OF THE
CHARACTERS of MEN.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

AN

ESSAY

ON THE

KNOWLEDGE

OF THE

CHARACTERS of MEN.

I HAVE often thought it a melancholy inſtance of the great depravity of human nature, that whilſt ſo many men have employed their utmoſt abilities to invent ſyſtems, by which the artful and cunning part of mankind may be enabled to impoſe on the reſt of the world; few or none ſhould have ſtood up the champions of the innocent and undeſigning, and have endeavoured to arm them againſt impoſition.

Thoſe who predicate of man in general, that he is an animal of this or that diſpoſition, ſeem to me not ſufficiently to have ſtudied human nature; for that immenſe variety of characters ſo apparent in men even of the ſame climate, religion, and education, which gives the poet a ſufficient licence, as I apprehend, for ſaying that,

'Man differs more from man, than man from beaſt,'

Digitized by Google

could hardly exist, unless the distinction had some original foundation in nature itself. Nor is it perhaps a less proper predicament of the genius of a tree, that it will flourish so many years, loves such a soil, bears such a fruit, *&c.* than of man in general, that he is good, bad, fierce, tame, honest, or cunning.

This original difference will, I think, alone account for that very early and strong inclination to good or evil, which distinguishes different dispositions in children, in their first infancy; in the most uninformed savages, who can be thought to have altered their nature by no rules, nor artfully acquired habits; and, lastly, in persons who from the same education, *&c.* might be thought to have directed Nature the same way; yet, among all these, there subsists, as I have before hinted, so manifest and extreme a difference of inclination or character, that almost oblige us, I think, to acknowledge some unacquired, original distinction, in the nature or soul of one man, from that of another.

Thus, without asserting in general, that man is a deceitful animal; we may, I believe, appeal for instances of deceit to the behaviour of some children and savages. When this quality therefore is nourished and improved by education, in which we are taught rather to conceal vices, than to cultivate virtues; when it hath sucked in the instruction of politicians, and is instituted in the art of thriving, it will be no wonder that it should grow to that monstrous height to which we sometimes see it arrive. This Art of thriving being the very reverse of that doctrine of the stoics; by which men were taught to consider themselves as fellow-citizens of the world, and to labour jointly for the common good, without any private distinction of their own: whereas this, on the contrary, points out to every individual his own particular and separate advantage, to which he is to sacrifice the interest of all others; which he is to consider as his *summum bonum*, to pursue with his utmost diligence and industry, and

Digitized by Google

and to acquire by all means whatever. Now when this noble end is once eſtabliſhed, deceit muſt immediately ſuggeſt itſelf as the neceſſary means: for as it is impoſſible that any man endowed with rational faculties, and being in a ſtate of freedom, ſhould willingly agree, without ſome motive of love or friendſhip, abſolutely to ſacrifice his own intereſt to that of another; it becomes neceſſary to impoſe upon him, to perſuade him, that his own good is deſigned, and that he will be a gainer by coming into thoſe ſchemes, which are, in reality, calculated for his deſtruction. And this, if I miſtake not, is the very eſſence of that excellent art, called The Art of Politics.

Thus while the crafty and deſigning part of mankind, conſulting only their own ſeparate advantage, endeavour to maintain one conſtant impoſition on others, the whole work becomes a vaſt maſquerade, where the greateſt part appear diſguiſed under falſe vizors and habits; a very few only ſhewing their own faces, who become, by ſo doing, the aſtoniſhment and ridicule of all the reſt.

But however cunning the diſguiſe be which a maſquerader wears; however foreign to his age, degree, or circumſtance, yet, if cloſely attended to, he very rarely eſcapes the diſcovery of an accurate obſerver: for Nature, which unwillingly ſubmits to the impoſture, is ever endeavouring to peep forth and ſhew herſelf; nor can the cardinal, the friar, or the judge, long conceal the ſot, the gameſter, or the rake.

In the ſame manner will thoſe diſguiſes which are worn on the greater ſtage, generally vaniſh, or prove ineffectual to impoſe the aſſumed for the real character upon us, if we employ ſufficient diligence and attention in the ſcrutiny. But as this diſcovery is of infinitely greater conſequence to us; and as, perhaps, all are not equally qualified to make it; I ſhall venture to ſet down ſome few rules, the efficacy (I had almoſt ſaid infallibility) of which, I have myſelf experienced. Nor need any man be aſhamed of wanting or receiving inſtructions on this head; ſince that open diſpoſition,

Digitized by Google

diſpoſition, which is the ſureſt indication of an honeſt and upright heart, chiefly renders us liable to be impoſed on by craft and deceit, and principally diſqualifies us for this diſcovery.

Neither will the reader, I hope, be offended, if he ſhould here find no obſervations entirely new to him. Nothing can be plainer, or more known, than the general rules of morality; and yet thouſands of men are thought well employed in reviving our remembrance, and enforcing our practice of them. But though I am convinced there are many of my readers, whom I am not capable of inſtructing on this head, and who are, indeed, fitter to give than receive inſtructions, at leaſt from me, yet this Eſſay may perhaps be of ſome uſe to the young and unexperienced, to the more open, honeſt, unconſidering part of mankind, who, either from ignorance or inattention, are daily expoſed to all the pernicious deſigns of that deteſtable fiend, Hypocriſy.

I will proceed therefore, without further preface, to thoſe diagnoſtics which nature, I apprehend, gives us of the diſeaſes of the mind, ſeeing ſhe takes ſuch pains to diſcover thoſe of the body. And firſt, I doubt whether the old adage of *Fronti nulla fides*, be generally well underſtood: the meaning of which is commonly taken to be, that "no truſt is to be "given to the countenance." But what is the context in Juvenal?

> -----*Quis enim non vicus abundat*
> *Triſtibus obſcœnis?*
> -----' What place is not filled with
> ' auſtere libertines?'

Now that an auſtere countenance is no token of purity of heart, I readily concede. So far otherwiſe, it is perhaps rather a ſymptom of the contrary. But the ſatyriſt ſurely never intended by theſe words, which have grown into a proverb, utterly to depreciate an art on which ſo wiſe a man as Ariſtotle hath thought proper to compoſe a treatiſe.

The

Digitized by Google

The truth is, we almoſt univerſally miſtake the ſymptoms which nature kindly holds forth to us; and err as groſsly as a phyſician would, who ſhould conclude that a very high pulſe is a certain indication of health: but ſure the faculty would rather impute ſuch a miſtake to his deplorable ignorance, than conclude from it, that the pulſe could give a ſkilful and ſenſible obſerver no information of the patient's diſtemper.

In the ſame manner, I conceive, the paſſions of men do comonly imprint ſufficient marks on the countenance; and it is owing chiefly to want of ſkill in the obſerver, that phyſiognomy is of ſo little uſe and credit in the world.

But our errors in this diſquiſition would be little wondered at, if it was acknowledged, that the few rules which generally prevail on this head are utterly falſe, and the very reverſe of truth. And this will perhaps appear, if we condeſcend to the examination of ſome particulars. Let us begin with the inſtance given us by the poet above, of auſterity; which, as he ſhews us, was held to indicate a chaſtity or ſeverity of morals, the contrary of which, as himſelf ſhews us is true.

Among us, this auſterity, or gravity of countenance, paſſes for wiſdom with juſt the ſame equity of pretenſion. My Lord Shafteſbury tells us, that gravity is of the eſſence of impoſture. I will not venture to ſay, that it certainly denotes folly, though I have known ſome of the ſilliеſt fellows in the world very eminently poſſeſſed of it. The affections which it indicates, and which we ſhall ſeldom err in ſuſpecting to ly under it, are pride, ill-nature, and cunning. Three qualities, which when we know to be inherent in any man, we have no reaſon to deſire any further diſcovery to inſtruct us, to deal as little and as cautiouſly with him as we are able.

But though the world often pays a reſpect to theſe appearances which they do not deſerve; they rather attract admiration than love, and inſpire us rather with awe than confidence. There is a countenance of a contrary kind, which hath been called a letter of recommedation; which throws our arms open

Digitized by Google

open to receive the poiſon, diveſts us of all kind of apprehenſion, and diſarms us of all caution: I mean that glavering ſneering ſmile, of which the greater part of mankind are extremely fond, conceiving it to be the ſign of good nature; whereas this is generally a compound of malice and fraud, and as ſurely indicates a bad heart, as a galloping pulſe doth a fever.

Men are chiefly betrayed into this deceit, by a groſs but common miſtake of good humour for good nature; two qualities ſo far from bearing any reſemblance to each other, that they are almoſt oppoſites. Good-nature is that benevolent and amiable temper of mind which diſpoſes us to feel the misfortunes, and enjoy the happineſs of others; and conſequently puſhes us on to promote the latter, and prevent the former; and that without any abſtract contemplation on the beauty of virtue, and without the allurements or terrors of religion. Now good-humour is nothing more than the triumph of the mind, when reflecting on its own happineſs, and that, perhaps, from having compared it with the inferior happineſs of others.

If this be allowed, I believe we may admit that glavering ſmile, whoſe principal ingredient is malice, to be the ſymptom of good humour. And here give me leave to define this word malice, as I doubt whether it be not in common ſpeech ſo often confounded with envy, that common readers may not have very diſtinct ideas between them. But as envy is a repining at the good of others, compared with our own, ſo malice is a rejoicing at their evil, on the ſame compariſon. And thus it appears to have a very cloſe affinity to that malevolent diſpoſition which I have above deſcribed under the word good-humour: for nothing is truer than that obſervation of Shakeſpeare:

---'A man may ſmile, and ſmile, and be a villain.'

But how alien muſt this countenance be to that heavenly frame of ſoul, of which Jeſus Chriſt himſelf was the moſt perfect pattern! of which bleſſed perſon it is recorded, that he never was once ſeen to laugh, during

Digitized by Google

during his whole abode on earth. And what indeed hath good nature to do with a ſmiling countenance? It would be like a purſe in the hands of a miſer, which he could never uſe. For admitting, that laughing at the vices and follies of mankind is entirely innocent (which is more perhaps than we ought to admit), yet ſurely their miſeries and misfortunes are no ſubjects of mirth: and with theſe, *Quis non vicus abundat?* the world is ſo full of them, that ſcarce a day paſſes without inclining a truly good-natured man rather to tears than merriment.

Mr Hobbes tells us, that laughter ariſes from pride, which is far from being a good-natured paſſion. And though I would not ſeverely diſcountenance all indulgence of it, ſince laughter, while confined to vice and folly, is no very cruel puniſhment on the object, and may be attended with good conſequences to him; yet we ſhall, I believe, find, on a careful examination into its motive, that it is not produced from good-nature. But this is one of the firſt efforts of the mind, which few attend to, or, indeed, are capable of diſcovering; and however ſelf-love may make us pleaſed with ſeeing a blemiſh in another which we are ourſelves free from, yet compaſſion on the firſt reflection of any unhappineſs in the object, immediately puts a ſtop to it in good minds. For inſtance; ſuppoſe a perſon well dreſt ſhould tumble in a dirty place in the ſtreet; I am afraid there are few who would not laugh at the accident: now what is this laughter other than a convulſive ecſtacy, occaſioned by the contemplation of our own happineſs, compared with the unfortunate perſon's! a pleaſure which ſeems to ſavour of ill nature: but as this is one of thoſe firſt, and as it were ſpontaneous motions of the ſoul, which few, as I have ſaid, attend to, and none can prevent; ſo it doth not properly conſtitute the character. When we come to reflect on the uneaſineſs this perſon ſuffers, laughter, in a good and delicate mind, will begin to change itſelf into compaſſion; and in proportion as this latter operates on us, we may be ſaid to have more or leſs good-nature: but ſhould any fatal conſequence, ſuch as a violent bruiſe, or the breaking

of

Digitized by Google

of a bone, attend the fall, the man who ſhould ſtill continue to laugh, would be entitled to the baſeſt and vileſt appellation with which any language can ſtigmatize him.

From what hath been ſaid, I think we may conclude, that a conſtant, ſettled, glavering, ſneering ſmile in the countenance, is ſo far from indicating goodneſs, that it may be with much confidence depended on as an aſſurance of the contrary.

But I would not be underſtood here to ſpeak with the leaſt regard to that amiable, open, compoſed, chearful aſpect, which is the reſult of a good conſcience, and the emanation of a good heart; of both which it is an infallible ſymptom; and may be the more depended on, as it cannot, I believe, be counterfeited, with any reaſonable reſemblance, by the niceſt power of art.

Neither have I any eye towards that honeſt, hearty loud chuckle, which ſhakes the ſides of aldermen and ſquires, without the leaſt provocation of a jeſt; proceeding chiefly from a full belly; and is a ſymptom (however ſtrange it may ſeem) of a very gentle and inoffenſive quality, called dulneſs, than which nothing is more riſible; for as Mr Pope, with exquiſite pleaſantry, ſays;

------'Gentle Dulneſs ever loves a joke;'

i. e. one of her own jokes. Theſe are ſometimes performed by the foot; as by leaping over heads, or chairs, or tables, kicks in the b---ch, *&c.* ſometimes by the hand; as by ſlaps in the face, pulling off wigs, and infinite other dexterities, too tedious to particularize; ſometimes by the voice, as by hollowing, huzzaing, and ſinging merry (*i. e.* dull) catches, by merry *i. e* dull) fellows.

Laſtly; I do by no means hint at the various laughs, titters, tehes, *&c.* of the fair ſex, with whom, indeed, this Eſſay hath not any thing to do; the knowledge of the characters of women being foreign to my intended purpoſe; as it is in fact a ſcience, to which I make not the leaſt pretenſion.

The

Digitized by Google

The ſmile, or ſneer, which compoſes the countenance I have above endeavoured to deſcribe, is extremely different from all theſe: but as I have already dwelt pretty long on it, and as my reader will not, I apprehend, be liable to miſtake it, I ſhall wind up my caution to him againſt this ſymptom, in part of a line of Horace:

------*Hic niger eſt: hunc tu---caveto.*

There is one countenance, which is the plaineſt inſtance of the general miſunderſtanding of that adage, *fronti nulla fides*. This is a fierce aſpect, which hath the ſame right to ſignify courage, as gravity to denote wiſdom, or a ſmile good-nature; whereas experience teaches us the contrary, and it paſſes among moſt men for the ſymptom only of a bully.

But I am aware, that I ſhall be reminded of an aſſertion which I ſet out with in the beginning of this Eſſay, *viz.* "That Nature gives us as ſure ſymptoms "of the diſeaſes of the mind as ſhe doth of thoſe of the "body." To which, what I have now advanced may ſeem a contradiction. The truth is, Nature doth really imprint ſufficient marks in the countenance, to inform an accurate and diſcerning eye; but as ſuch is the property of few, the generality of mankind miſtake the affectation for the reality: for as Affectation always over-acts her part, it fares with her as with a farcical actor on the ſtage, whoſe monſtrous overdone grimaces are ſure to catch the applauſe of an inſenſible audience; while the trueſt and fineſt ſtrokes of nature, repreſented by a judicious and juſt actor, paſs unobſerved and diſregarded. In the ſame manner, the true ſymptoms, being finer and leſs glaring, make no impreſſion on our phyſiognomiſt; while the groſſer appearances of affectation are ſure to attract his eye, and deceive his judgment. Thus that ſprightly and penetrating look, which is almoſt a certain token of underſtanding; that chearful compoſed ſerenity, which always indicates good-nature; and that fiery caſt of the eyes, which is ever accompanied with courage, are often over-looked: while a formal, ſtate-

Digitized by Google

ly, auſtere gravity; a glavering fawning ſmile, and a ſtrong contraction of the muſcles, paſs generally on the world for the virtues they only endeavour to affect.

But as theſe rules are, I believe, none of them without ſome exceptions; as they are of no uſe but to an obſerver of much penetration; laſtly, as a more ſubtle hypocriſy will ſometimes eſcape undiſcovered from the higheſt diſcernment; let us ſee if we have not a more infallible guide to direct us to the knowledge of men; one more eaſily to be attained, and on the efficacy of which we may with the greateſt certainty rely.

And ſurely the actions of men ſeem to be the juſteſt interpreters of their thoughts, and the trueſt ſtandards by which we may judge them. *By their fruits you ſhall know them*, is a ſaying of great wiſdom, as well as authority. And, indeed, this is ſo certain a method of acquiring the knowledge I contend for, that, at firſt appearance, it ſeems abſolutely perfect, and to want no manner of aſſiſtance.

There are, however, two cauſes of our miſtakes on this head; and which lead us into forming very erroneous judgments of men, even while their actions ſtare us in the face, and, as it were, hold a candle to us, by which we may ſee into them.

The firſt of theſe is when we take their own words againſt their actions. This (if I may borrow another illuſtration from phyſic) is no leſs ridiculous, than it would be in a learned profeſſor of that art, when he perceives his light-headed patient is in the utmoſt danger, to take his word that he is well. This error is infinitely more common than its extreme abſurdity would perſuade us was poſſible. And many a credulous perſon hath been ruined by truſting to the aſſertions of another, who muſt have preſerved himſelf, had he placed a wiſer confidence in his actions.

The ſecond is an error ſtill more general. This is when we take the colour of a man's actions, not from their own viſible tendency, but from his public character: when we believe what others ſay of him, in oppoſition to what we ſee him do. How often do we ſuffer ourſelves to be deceived, out of the credit of a fact

fact, or out of a just opinion of its heinousness, by the reputed dignity or honesty of the person who did it! how common are such ejaculations as these! "O it "is impossible he should be guilty of any such thing! "he must have done it by mistake; he could not de- "sign it. I will never believe any ill of him. So "good a man! *&c.*" when, in reality, the mistake lies only in his character. Nor is there any more simple, unjust, and insufficient method of judging mankind, than by public estimation, which is oftener acquired by deceit, partiality, prejudice, and such like, than by real desert. I will venture to affirm, that I have known some of the best sort of men in the world (to use the vulgar phrase) who would not have scrupled cutting a friend's throat; and a fellow, whom no man should be seen to speak to, capable of the highest acts of friendship and benevolence.

Now it will be necessary to divest ourselves of both these errors, before we can reasonably hope to attain any adequate knowledge of the true characters of men. Actions are their own best expositors: and though crimes may admit of alleviating circumstances, which may properly induce a judge to mitigate the punish- ment; from the motive, for instance, as necessity may lessen the crime of robbery, when compared to wan- tonness or vanity; or from some circumstance attend- ing the fact itself, as robbing a stranger or an enemy, compared with committing it on a friend or benefac- tor; yet the crime is still robbery, and the person who commits it is a robber; though he should pretend to have done it with a good design, or the world should concur in calling him an honest man.

But I am aware of another objection which may be made to my doctrine, *viz.* admitting that the actions of men are the surest evidence of their character, that this knowledge comes too late; that it is to caution us against a highwayman after he hath plundered us, or against an incendiary, after he hath fired our house.

To which I answer, that it is not against force, but deceit, which I am here seeking for armour; against those who can injure us only by obtaining our good opinion. If, therefore, I can instruct my reader from

Digitized by Google

what ſort of perſons he is to with-hold this opinion, and inform him of all, or at leaſt the principal arts by which deceit proceeds to ingratiate itſelf with us, by which he will be effectually enabled to defeat its purpoſe, I ſhall have ſufficiently ſatisfied the deſign of this Eſſay.

And here, the firſt caution I ſhall give him is againſt flattery, which I am convinced no one uſes, without ſome deſign on the perſon flattered. I remember to have heard of a certain nobleman, who, though he was an immoderate lover of receiving flattery himſelf, was ſo far from being guilty of this vice to others, that he was remarkably free in telling men their faults. A friend, who had his intimacy, one day told him, he wondered that he who loved flattery better than any man living, did not return a little of it himſelf, which he might be ſure would bring him back ſuch plentiful intereſt. To which he anſwered, though he admitted the juſtneſs of the obſervation, he could never think of giving away what he was ſo extremely covetous of. Indeed, whoever knows any thing of the nature of men, how greedy they are of praiſe, and how backward in beſtowing it on others; that it is a debt ſeldom paid, even to the greateſt merit, till we are compelled to it, may reaſonably conclude, that this profuſion, this voluntary throwing it away on thoſe who do not deſerve it, proceeds, as Martial ſays of a beggar's preſent, from ſome other motive than generoſity or good-will.

But, indeed, there are few whoſe vanity is ſo foul a feeder, to digeſt flattery, if undiſguiſed: it muſt impoſe on us, in order to allure us: before we can reliſh it, we muſt call it by ſome other name; ſuch as, a juſt eſteem of, and reſpect for, our real worth; a debt due to our merit, and not a preſent to our pride.

Suppoſe it ſhould be really ſo, and we ſhould have all thoſe great or good qualities which are extolled in us; yet conſidering, as I have ſaid above, with what reluctance ſuch debts are paid, we may juſtly ſuſpect ſome deſign in the perſon who ſo readily and forwardly offers it to us. It is well obſerved, that we do not attend, without uneaſineſs, to praiſes in which we

Digitized by Google

we have no concern: much leſs ſhall we be eager to utter and exaggerate the praiſe of another, without ſome expectation from it.

A flatterer therefore is a juſt object of our diſtruſt, and will, by prudent men, be avoided.

Next to the flatterer is the profeſſor, who carries his affection to you ſtill farther; and, on a ſlight or no acquaintance, embraces, hugs, kiſſes, and vows the greateſt eſteem for your perſon, parts, and virtues. To know whether this friend is ſincere, you have only to examine into the nature of friendſhip, which is always founded either on eſteem or gratitude, or perhaps on both. Now eſteem, admitting every requiſite for its formation preſent, and theſe are not a few, is of very ſlow growth; it is an involuntary affection, rather apt to give us pain than pleaſure, and therefore meets with no encouragement in our minds, which it creeps into by ſmall and almoſt imperceptible degrees; and, perhaps, when it hath got an abſolute poſſeſſion of us, may require ſome other ingredient to engage our friendſhip to its own object. It appears then pretty plain, that this muſhroom paſſion here mentioned, owes not its origin to eſteem. Whether it can poſſibly flow from gratitude, which may indeed produce it more immediately, you will more eaſily judge; for though there are ſome minds whom no benefits can inſpire with gratitude, there are more, I believe, who conceive this affection without even a ſuppoſed obligation. If therefore you can aſſure yourſelf it is impoſſible he ſhould imagine himſelf obliged to you, you may be ſatisfied that gratitude is not the motive to his friendſhip. Seeing then that you can derive it from neither of theſe fountains, you may well be juſtified in ſuſpecting its falſehood; and if ſo, you will act as wiſely in receiving it into your heart, as he doth who knowingly lodges a viper in his boſom, or a thief in his houſe. 'Forgive the acts of your enemies,' hath been thought the higheſt maxim of morality: 'Fear the profeſſions 'of your friends,' is perhaps the wiſeſt.

The third character againſt which an open heart ſhould be alarmed, is a Promiſer, one who riſes another ſtep in friendſhip. The man who is wantonly

Digitized by Google

profuse of his promises ought to sink his credit as much as a tradesman would by uttering a great number of promissory notes, payable at a distant day. The truest conclusion in both cases is, that neither intend, or will be able to pay. And as the latter most probably intends to cheat you of your money, so the former at least designs to cheat you of your thanks; and it is well for you, if he hath no deeper purpose, and that vanity is the only evil passion to which he destines you a sacrifice.

I would not be here understood to point at the promises of political great men, which they are supposed to lie under a necessity of giving in great abundance; and the value of them is so well known, that few are to be imposed on by them. The professor I here mean, is he who on all occasions is ready, of his own head, and unasked, to promise favours. This is such another instance of generosity, as his who relieves his friend in distress, by a draught on Aldgate pump *. Of these there are several kinds; some who promise what they never intend to perform; others, who promise what they are not sure they can perform; and others again, who promise so many, that, like debtors, being not able to pay all their debts, they afterwards pay none.

The man who is inquisitive into the secrets of your affairs, with which he hath no concern, is another object of your caution. Men no more desire another's secrets, to conceal them, than they would another's purse, for the pleasure only of carrying it.

Nor is a slanderer less wisely to be avoided, unless you chuse to feast on your neighbour's faults, at the price of being served up yourself at the tables of others; for persons of this stamp are generally impartial in their abuse. Indeed, it is not always possible totally to escape them; for being barely known to them is a sure title to their calumny; but the more they are admitted to your acquaintance, the more you will be abused by them.

* A mercantile phrase for a bad note.

I fear

I fear the next character I shall mention may give offence to the grave part of mankind, for whose wisdom and honesty I have an equal respect; but, I must, however, venture to caution my open-hearted reader against a saint. No honest and sensible man will understand me here, as attempting to declaim against sanctity of morals. The sanctity I mean, is that which flows from the lips, and shines in the countenance. It may be said, perhaps, that real sanctity may wear these appearances; and how shall we then distinguish, with any certainty, the true from the fictitious? I answer, that if we admit this to be possible, yet, as it is likewise possible that it may be only counterfeit, and as in fact it is so ninety-nine times in a hundred, it is better that one real saint should suffer a little unjust suspicion, than that ninety-nine villains should impose on the world, and be enabled to perpetrate their villanies under this mask.

But, to say the truth; a sour, morose, ill-natured, censorious sanctity, never is, nor can be sincere. Is a readiness to despise, to hate, and to condemn, the temper of a Christian? can he who passes sentence on the souls of men with more delight and triumph than the devil can execute it, have the impudence to pretend himself a disciple of one who died for the sins of mankind? Is not such a sanctity the true mark of that hypocrisy, which, in many places of scripture, and particularly in the twenty-third chapter of St Matthew, is so bitterly inveighed against?

As this is a most detestable character in society; and as its malignity is more particularly bent against the best and worthiest men, the sincere and open-hearted, whom it persecutes with inveterate envy and hatred, I shall take some pains in the ripping it up, and exposing the horrors of its inside, that we may all shun it; and at the same time will endeavour so plainly to describe its outside, that we shall hardly be liable, by any mistake, to fall into its snares.

With regard then to the inside (if I am allowed that expression) of this character, the scripture-writers have employed uncommon labour in dissecting it. Let us hear our Saviour himself, in the chapter above cited:

It

Digitized by Google

*It devours widows houſes; it makes its proſelytes two-fold more the children of hell; it omits the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and faith; it ſtrains * off a gnat, and ſwallows a camel; it is full of extortion and exceſs.* St Paul, in his firſt Epiſtle to Timothy, ſays of them, *That they ſpeak lies, and their conſcience is ſeared with a red hot iron.* And in many parts of the Old Teſtament, as in Job; *Let the hypocrite reign not, leſt the people be enſnared:* And Solomon in his Proverbs; *An hypocrite with his mouth deſtroyeth his neighbour.*

In theſe ſeveral texts, moſt of the enormities of this character are deſcribed: but there is one which deſerves a fuller comment, as pointing at its very eſſence: I mean the thirteenth verſe of the twenty-third chapter of St Matthew, where Jeſus addreſſes himſelf thus to the Phariſees: *Hypocrites; for ye ſhut up the kingdom of Heaven againſt men; for ye neither go in yourſelves, neither ſuffer ye them that are entering to go in.*

This is an admirable picture of ſanctified hypocriſy, which will neither do good itſelf, nor ſuffer others to do it. But if we underſtand the text figuratively, we may apply it to that cenſorious quality of this vice, which as it will do nothing honeſtly to deſerve reputation, ſo is it ever induſtrious to deprive others of the praiſes due to their virtues. It confines all merit to thoſe external forms which are fully particularized in ſcripture; of theſe it is itſelf a rigid obſerver; hence it muſt derive all honour and reward in this world; nay, and even in the next, if it can impoſe on itſelf ſo far as to imagine itſelf capable of cheating the Almighty, and obtaining any reward there.

Now a galley-ſlave, of an envious diſpoſition, doth not behold a man free from chains, and at his eaſe,

* So is the Greek, which the tranſlators have miſtaken: they render it, *ſtrain at a gnat*, i. e. ſtruggle in ſwallowing; whereas, in reality, the Greek word is, to ſtrain through a cullender; and the idea is, that though they pretend their conſciences are ſo fine, that a gnat is with difficulty ſtrained through them, yet they can, if they pleaſe, open them wide enough to admit a camel.

with

Digitized by Google

with more envy than perſons in theſe fetters of ſanctity view the reſt of mankind; eſpecially ſuch as they behold without them entering into the kingdom of Heaven. Theſe are indeed the objects of their higheſt animoſity, and are always the ſureſt marks of their detraction. Perſons of more goodneſs than knowledge of mankind, when they are calumniated by theſe ſaints, are, I believe, apt to impute the calumny to an ignorance of their real character; and imagine, if they could better inform the ſaid ſaints of their innate worth, they ſhould be better treated by them; but alas, this is a total miſtake: the more good a ſanctified hypocrite knows of an open and an honeſt man, the more he envies and hates him, and the more ready he is to ſeize or invent an opportunity of detracting from his real merit.

But envy is not their only motive of hatred to good men; they are eternally jealous of being ſeen through, and conſequently expoſed, by them. A hypocrite in ſociety lives in the ſame apprehenſion with a thief, who lies concealed in the midſt of the family he is to rob: for this fancies himſelf perceived when he is leaſt ſo; every motion alarms him; he fears he is diſcovered, and is ſuſpicious that every one who enters the room, knows where he is hid, and is coming to ſeize him. And thus, as nothing hates more violently than fear, many an innocent perſon, who ſuſpects no evil intended him, is deteſted by him who intends it.

Now in deſtroying the reputation of a virtuous and good man, the hypocrite imagines he hath diſarmed his enemy of all weapons to hurt him; and therefore this ſanctified hypocriſy is not more induſtrious to conceal its own vices, than to obſcure and contaminate the virtues of others. As the buſineſs of ſuch a man's life is to procure praiſe, by acquiring and maintaining an undeſerved character; ſo is his utmoſt care employed to deprive thoſe who have an honeſt claim to the character himſelf affects only, of all the emoluments which would otherwiſe ariſe to them from it.

The prophet Iſaiah ſpeaks of theſe people, where he ſays, *Wo unto them who call evil good, and good evil; that put darkneſs for light and light for darkneſs.*

Digitized by Google

darkneſs, &c. In his ſermon on which text, the witty Dr South hath theſe words.---" *Detraction* " is that killing poiſonous arrow, drawn out of the " devil's quiver, which is always flying about, and " doing execution in the dark: againſt which *no vir-* " *tue is a defence, no innocence a ſecurity.* It is a wea- " pon forged in hell, and formed by that prime arti- " ficer and engineer, the devil; and none but that " great God, who knows all things, and can do all " things, can protect the beſt of men againſt it."

To theſe likewiſe Martial alludes in the following lines:

Ut bene loquatur ſentiatque Mamercus,
Efficere nullis, Aule, moribus poſſis.

I have been ſomewhat diffuſive in the cenſorious branch of this character, as it is a very pernicious one; and (according to what I have obſerved) little known and attended to. I ſhall not deſcribe all its other qualities. Indeed, there is no ſpecies of miſchief which it doth not produce. For, not to mention the private villanies it daily tranſacts, moſt of the great evils which have affected ſociety, wars, murders, and maſſacres, have owed their original to this abominable vice; which is the deſtroyer of the innocent, and protector of the guilty; which hath introduced all manner of evil into the world, and hath almoſt expelled every grain of good out of it. Doth it not attempt to cheat men into the purſuit of ſorrow and miſery, under the appearance of virtue, and to frighten them from mirth and pleaſure, under the colour of vice, or, if you pleaſe, ſin? Doth it not attempt to gild over that poiſonous potion, made up of malevolence, auſterity, and ſuch curſed ingredients, while it embitters the delightful draught of innocent pleaſure with the naſeous reliſh of fear and ſhame?

No wonder then that this malignant curſed diſpoſition which is the diſgrace of human nature, and the bane of ſociety, ſhould be ſpoken againſt with ſuch remarkable bitterneſs, by the benevolent Author of

our

Digitized by Google

our religion, particularly in the thirty-third verse of the above cited chapter of St Matthew.

Ye serpents, ye generation of vipers, how can ye escape the damnation of hell?

Having now dispatched the inside of this character, and, as I apprehend, said enough to make any one avoid, I am sure sufficient to make a Christian detest it, nothing remains but to examine the outside, in order to furnish honest men with sufficient rules to discover it. And in this we shall have the same divine guide, whom we have in the former part followed.

First, then, beware of that sanctified appearance, *that whited sepulchre, which looks beautiful outward, and is within full of all uncleanness. Those who make clean the outside of the platter, but within are full of extortion and excess.*

Secondly, Look well to those *who bind heavy burdens, and grievous to be borne, and lay them on mens shoulders; but they themselves will not move them with one of their fingers.*

"These heavy burdens (says Burkitt) were counsels and directions, rules and canons, austerities "and severities, which the Pharisees introduced and "imposed upon their hearers." This requires no further comment: for, as I have before said, these hypocrites place all virtue, and all religion, in the observation of those austerities and severities, without which the truest and purest goodness will never receive their commendation: but how different this doctrine is from the temper of Christianity may be gathered by that total of all Christian morality, with which Jesus sums up the excellent precepts delivered in his divine sermon: *Therefore do unto all men as ye would they should do unto you: for this is the law and the prophets.*

Thirdly, Beware of all ostentation of virtue, goodness, or piety. By this ostentation, I mean that of the countenance and the mouth, or of some external forms. And this, I apprehend, is the meaning of Jesus, where he says, *They do their works to be seen of men*, as appears by the context; *They make broad their phylacteries, and enlarge the border of*

Digitized by Google

of their garments. Theſe phylacteries were certain ſcrowls of parchment, whereon were written the ten commandments, and particular parts of the Moſaic law, which they oſtentatiouſly wore on their garments, thinking by that ceremony to fulfil the precept delivered to them in a verſe of Deuteronomy, tho' they neglected to fulfil the laws they wore thus about them.

Another inſtance of their oſtentation was---"making long prayers, *i. e.* (ſays Burkitt) making long "prayers (or, perhaps, pretending to make them) "in the temples and ſynagogues for widows, and "thereupon perſuading them to give bountifully to "the corban, or the common treaſure of the temple, "ſome part of which was employed for their maintenance. Learn, 1. It is no *new* thing for deſigning hypocrites to cover the fouleſt tranſgreſſion "with the cloak of religion. The Phariſees make "long prayers a cover for their covetouſneſs. 2. That "to make uſe of religion in policy for wordly advantage ſake, is the way to be damned with a vengeance for religion ſake."

Again, ſays Jeſus---*in paying tithe of mint and aniſe and cummin, while they omit the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and faith.*

By which we are not to underſtand (nor would I be underſtood ſo to mean) any inhibition of paying the prieſt his dues; but, as my commentator obſerves, "an oſtentation of a preciſe keeping the law in ſmaller matters, and neglecting weightier duties. They "paid tithe of mint, aniſe, and cummin (*i. e.* of "the minuteſt and moſt worthleſs things), but, "at the ſame time, omitted judgment, mercy, and "faith; that is, juſt dealing among men, charity "towards the poor, and faithfulneſs in their promiſes "and covenants one with another. *This*, ſays our "Saviour, *is to ſtrain at a gnat, and ſwallow a camel:* "a proverbial expreſſion, intimating, that ſome perſons pretend great niceneſs and ſcrupuloſity about "ſmall matters, and none, or but little, about duties of the greateſt moment. Hence, note, That "hypocrites lay the greateſt ſtreſs upon the leaſt "matters in religion, and place holineſs moſt in theſe "things

Digitized by Google

" things where God places it leaſt." *Ye tithe mint,* &c. *but neglect the weightier matters of the law.* " This is indeed the bane of all religion and true " piety, to prefer rituals and human inſtitutions " before divine commands, and the practice of na- " tural religion. *Thus to do is a certain ſign of groſs* " *hypocriſy.*"

Nothing can, in fact, be more foreign to the nature of virtue than oſtentation. It is truly ſaid of Virtue, that, could men behold her naked, they would be all in love with her. Here it is implied, that this is a ſight very rare or difficult to come at; and, indeed, there is always a modeſt backwardneſs in true Virtue to expoſe her naked beauty. She is conſcious of her innate worth, and little deſirous of expoſing it to the public view. It is the harlot Vice who conſtantly endeavours to ſet off the charms ſhe counterfeits, in order to attract men's applauſe, and to work her ſiniſter ends by gaining their admiration and their confidence.

I ſhall mention but one ſymptom more of this hypocriſy; and this is a readineſs to cenſure the faults of others. *Judge not,* ſays Jeſus, *leſt you be judged.*--- And again, *Why beholdeſt thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but conſidereſt not the beam that is in thine own eye?* On which the above-mentioned commentator rightly obſerves, " That thoſe who are " moſt cenſorious of the leſſer infirmities of others, " are uſually moſt notoriouſly guilty of far greater " failings themſelves." This ſanctified ſlander is, of all, the moſt ſevere, bitter, and cruel; and is ſo eaſily diſtinguiſhed from that which is either the effect of anger or wantonneſs, and which I have mentioned before, that I ſhall dwell no longer upon it.

And here I ſhall diſmiſs my character of a ſanctified hypocrite, with the honeſt wiſh which Shakeſpeare hath launched forth againſt an execrable villain:

---' That Heaven would put in every honeſt hand
' a whip,
' To laſh the raſcal naked through the world.'

Digitized by Google

I have now, I think, enumerated the principal methods by which deceit works its ends on eaſy, credulous, and open diſpoſitions; and have endeavoured to point out the ſymptoms by which they may be diſcovered: but while men are blinded by vanity and ſelf-love, and while artful hypocriſy knows how to adapt itſelf to their blind ſides, and to humour their paſſions, it will be difficult for honeſt and undeſigning men to eſcape the ſnares of cunning and impoſition; I ſhall therefore recommend one more certain rule, and which, I believe, if duly attended to, would, in a great meaſure, extirpate all fallacy out of the world; or muſt at leaſt ſo effectually diſappoint its purpoſes, that it would ſoon be worth no man's while to aſſume it, and the character of knave and fool would be more apparently (what they are at preſent in reality) allied, or united.

This method is, carefully to obſerve the actions of men with others, and eſpecially with thoſe to whom they are allied in blood, marriage, friendſhip, profeſſion, neighbourhood, or any other connection: nor can you want an opportunity of doing this; for none but the weakeſt of men would raſhly and madly place a confidence which may very materially affect him in any one, on a ſlight or no acquaintance.

Trace then the man propoſed to your truſt, into his private family and neareſt intimacies. See whether he hath acted the part of a good ſon, brother, huſband, father, friend, maſter, ſervant, *&c.* If he hath diſcharged theſe duties well, your confidence will have a good foundation; but if he hath behaved himſelf in theſe offices with tyranny, with cruelty, with infidelity, with inconſtancy, you may be aſſured he will take the firſt opportunity his intereſt points out to him, of exerciſing the ſame ill talents at your expence.

I have often thought mankind would be little liable to deceit (at leaſt much leſs than they are) if they would believe their own eyes, and judge of men by what they actually ſee them perform towards thoſe with whom they are moſt cloſely connected: whereas, how common is it to perſuade ourſelves, that the undutiful, ungrateful ſon, the unkind or barbarous brother, or the

Digitized by Google

the man who is void of all tenderneſs, honour, or even humanity, to his wife or children, ſhall nevertheleſs become a ſincere and faithful friend! but how monſtrous a belief is it, that the perſon whom we find incapable of diſcharging the neareſt duties of relation, whom no ties of blood or affinity can bind; nay, who is even deficient in that goodneſs which inſtinct infuſes into the brute creation; that ſuch a perſon ſhould have a ſufficient ſtock of virtue to ſupply the arduous character of honour and honeſty! This is a credulity ſo abſurd, that it admits of no aggravation.

Nothing indeed can be more unjuſtifiable to our prudence, than an opinion that the man whom we ſee act the part of a villain to others, ſhould, on ſome minute change of perſon, time, place, or other circumſtance, behave like an honeſt and juſt man to ourſelves. I ſhall not here diſpute the doctrine of repentance, any more than its tendency to the good of ſociety; but as the actions of men are the beſt index to their thoughts, as they do, if well attended to and underſtood, with the utmoſt certainty demonſtrate the character; and as we are not ſo certain of the ſincerity of the repentance, I think we may with juſtice ſuſpect, at leaſt ſo far as to deny him our confidence, that a man whom we once knew to be a villain, remains a villain ſtill.

And now let us ſee whether theſe obſervations, extended a little further, and taken into public life, may not help us to account for ſome phænomena, which have lately appeared in this hemiſphere: for as a man's good behaviour to thoſe with whom he hath the neareſt and cloſeſt connection is the beſt aſſurance to which a ſtranger can truſt for his honeſt conduct in any engagement he ſhall enter into with him; ſo is a worthy diſcharge of the ſocial offices of a private ſtation, the ſtrongeſt ſecurity which a man can give of an upright demeanour in any public truſt, if his country ſhall repoſe it in him; and we may be well ſatisfied, that the moſt popular ſpeeches, and moſt plauſible pretences of one of a different character, are only gilded ſnares to delude us, and to ſacrifice us, in ſome manner or other, to his own ſiniſter purpoſes. It is

Digitized by Google

well said in one of Mr Pope's letters; 'How shall 'a man love five millions, who could never love a 'single person?' If a man hath more love than what centers in himself, it will certainly light on his children, his relations, friends, and nearest acquaintance. If he extends it farther, what is it less than general philanthropy, or love to mankind? Now, as a good man loves his friend better than a common acquaintance; so philanthropy will operate stronger towards his own country than any other: but no man can have this general philanthropy who hath not private affection, any more than he who hath not strength sufficient to lift ten pounds, can at the same time be able to throw a hundred weight over his head. Therefore the bad son, husband, father, brother, friend; in a word, the bad man in private can never be a sincere patriot.

In Rome and Sparta I agree it was otherwise: for there patriotism, by education, became a part of the character. Their children were nursed in patriotism, it was taught them at an age when religion in all countries is first inculcated. And as we see men of all religions ready to lay down their lives for the doctrines of it (which they often do not know, and seldom have considered;) so were these Spartans and Romans ready with as implicit faith to die for their country; though the private morals of the former were very depraved, and the latter were the public robbers of mankind.

Upon what foundation their patriotism then stood, seems pretty apparent, and perhaps there can be no surer. For, I apprehend, if twenty boys were taught from their infancy to believe, that the Royal Exchange was the kingdom of Heaven; and consequently inspired with a suitable awe for it; and, lastly, instructed that it was great, glorious, and god-like to defend it; nineteen of them would afterwards chearfully sacrifice their lives to its defence; at least, it is impossible that any of them would agree, for a paultry reward, to set it on fire; not even though they were rogues and highwaymen in their disposition. But if you were admitted to chuse twenty of such dispositions at

Digitized by Google

at the age of manhood, who had never learnt any thing of its holineſs, contracted any ſuch awe, nor imbibed any ſuch duty, I believe it would be difficult to bring them to venture their lives in its cauſe; nor ſhould I doubt, could I perſuade them of the ſecurity of the fact, of bribing them to apply the firebrand to any part of the building I pleaſed.

But a worthy citizen of London, without borrowing any ſuch ſuperſtition from education, would ſcarce be tempted, by any reward, to deprive the city of ſo great an ornament, and what is ſo uſeful and neceſſary to its trade; at the ſame time to endanger the ruin of thouſands, and perhaps the deſtruction of the whole.

The applications ſeems pretty eaſy; that as there is no ſuch paſſion in human nature as patriotiſm, conſidered abſtractedly, and by itſelf, it muſt be introduced by art, and that while the mind of man is yet ſoft and ductile, and the unformed character ſuſceptible of any arbitrary impreſſion you pleaſe to make on it: or, ſecondly, it muſt be founded on philanthropy, or univerſal benevolence; a paſſion which really exiſts in ſome natures, and which is neceſſarily attended with the excellent quality above mentioned: for as it ſeems granted, that the man cannot love a million who never could love a ſingle perſon; ſo will it, I apprehend, appear as certain, that he who could not be induced to cheat or to deſtroy a ſingle man, will never be prevailed on to cheat or to deſtroy many millions.

Thus I have endeavoured to ſhew the ſeveral methods by which we can propoſe to get any inſight into the characters of thoſe with whom we converſe, and by which we may fruſtrate all the cunning and deſigns of hypocriſy. Theſe methods I have ſhewn to be three-fold, *viz.* by the marks which nature hath imprinted on the countenance, by their behaviour to ourſelves, and by their behaviour to others. On the firſt of theſe I have not much inſiſted, as liable to ſome incertainty; and as the latter ſeem abundantly ſufficient to ſecure us, with proper caution, againſt the ſubtle devices of hypocriſy,

Digitized by Google

though ſhe be the moſt cunning as well as malicious of all the vices which have ever corrupted the nature of man.

But however uſeleſs this Treatiſe may be to inſtruct, I hope it will be at leaſt effectual to alarm my reader; and ſure no honeſt undeſigning man can ever be too much on his guard againſt the hypocrite, or too induſtrious to expoſe and expel him out of ſociety.

THE

Digitized by Google

THE

Covent-Garden Journal.

By Sir ALEXANDER DRAWCANSIR, Knt.

CENSOR of GREAT-BRITAIN.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

THE

COVENT-GARDEN JOURNAL.

By Sir ALEXANDER DRAWCANSIR, Knt.

CENSOR of GREAT-BRITAIN.

NUMB. 3. SATURDAY, January 11.

Majores nuſquam rhonci; juveneſque, ſeneſque,
Et pueri naſum rhinocerotis habent. Martial.

In Engliſh.

No town can ſuch a gang of critics ſhow,
Even boys turn up that noſe they cannot blow.

BY a record in the cenſor's office, and now in my cuſtody, it appears, that at a cenſorial inquiſition taken *Treceſimo qto. Eliz.* by one of my illuſtrious predeceſſors, no more than nineteen critics were enrolled in the cities of London and Weſtminſter; whereas at the laſt inquiſition taken by myſelf, 25° *Geo. 2di.* the number of perſons claiming a right to that order, appears to amount to 276,302.

This immenſe increaſe is, I believe, to be no otherwiſe accounted for, than from the very blameable negligence of the late cenſors, who have, indeed, converted their office into a mere ſinecure; no inquiſition, as I can find, having been taken ſince the cenſorſhip of

Digitized by Google

of Iſaac Bickerſtaffe, Eſq; in the latter end of the reign of Queen Anne.

To the ſame neglect are owing many encroachments on all the other orders of the ſociety. That of gentlemen in particular, I obſerve to have greatly increaſed, and that of ſharpers to have decreaſed in the ſame proportion, within theſe few years.

All theſe irregularities it is my firm purpoſe to endeavour at reforming, and to reſtore the high office with which I am veſted to its ancient uſe and dignity. This, however, muſt be attempted with prudence and by ſlow degrees: for habitual and inveterate evils are to be cured by ſlow alteratives, and not by violent remedies. Of this the good emperor Pertinax will be a laſting example, "This worthy man," (ſays Dion Caſſius) "periſhed by endeavouring too "haſtily to reform all the evils which infeſted his "country. He knew not, it ſeems, though other-"wiſe a man of very great knowledge, that it is not "ſafe, nor indeed poſſible, to effect a reformation in "too many matters at once. A rule which, if it holds "true in private life, is much more ſo when it is ap-"plied to thoſe evils that affect the public."

I thought it, therefore, not prudent, in the hurry of my above inquiſition, to make any exceptions, but admitted all who offered to be enrolled. This is a method which I ſhall not purſue hereafter, being fully reſolved to inquire into the qualifications of every pretender.

And that all perſons may come prepared to prove their right to the order of critics, I ſhall here ſet down thoſe ſeveral qualifications which will be inſiſted on before any will be admitted to that high honour. In doing this, however, I ſhall ſtrictly purſue the excellent rule I have cited, and ſhall act with moſt perfect moderation; for I am willing to throw open the door as wide as I can, ſo that as few as poſſible may be rejected.

It is, I think, the ſentiment of Quinctilian, that no man is capable of becoming a good critic on a great poet, but he who is himſelf a great poet. This would indeed, confine the critics on poetry, at leaſt, to a very

Digitized by Google

very ſmall number; and would, indeed, ſtrike all the antients, except only Horace and Longinus, off the roll; of the latter of whom, though he was no poet, Mr Pope finely ſays,

'Thee, great Longinus, all the Nine inſpire,
'And bleſs their critic with a poet's fire.'

But, with reſpect to ſo great a name as that of Quinctilian, this rule appears to me much too rigid. It ſeems, indeed, to be little leſs ſevere than an injunction that no man ſhould criticize on cookery but he who was himſelf a cook.

To require what is generally called learning in a critic, is altogether as abſurd as to require genius. Why ſhould a man in this caſe, any more than in all others, be bound by any opinions but his own? Or why ſhould he read by rule, any more than eat by it? If I delight in a ſlice of bullock's liver or of Oldmixon, why ſhall I be confined to turtle or to Swift?

The only learning, therefore, that I inſiſt upon, is, that my critic *be able to read:* and this is ſurely very reaſonable: for I do not ſee how he can otherwiſe be called a reader; and if I include every reader in the name of critic, it is ſurely very juſt to confine every critic within the number of readers.

Nor do I only require the capacity of reading, but the actual exerciſe of that capacity; I do here ſtrictly forbid any perſons whatever to paſs a definitive ſentence on a book *before they have read at leaſt ten pages in it*, under the penalty of being for ever rendered incapable of admiſſion to the order of critics.

Thirdly, all critics who, from and after the firſt day of February next, ſhall condemn any book, ſhall be ready to give ſome reaſon for their judgment: nor ſhall it be ſufficient for ſuch critic to drivel out, "I "don't know, not I; but all that I know is, I "don't like it." Provided, nevertheleſs, that any reaſon how fooliſh or frivolous ſoever, ſhall be allowed a good and full juſtification; except only the words *poor ſtuff, wretched ſtuff, bad ſtuff, ſad ſtuff, low ſtuff, paultry ſtuff.* All which *ſtuffs* I do for ever baniſh from the mouths of all critics.

Provided

Digitized by Google

Provided alſo, that the laſt-mentioned clauſe do extend only to ſuch critics as openly proclaim their cenſures; for it is our intention, that all perſons ſhall be at liberty to diſlike privately whatever book they pleaſe, without underſtanding or reading one word of it, any thing therein or herein contained to the contrary notwithſtanding.

But as it is reaſonable to extend this power of judging for themſelves no farther, in this caſe of criticiſm, than it is allowed to men in ſome others, I do here declare, that I ſhall not, for the future, admit any males to the office of criticiſm till they be of the full age of eighteen, that being the age when the laws allow them to have a capacity of diſpoſing of perſonal chattles: for, before that time, they have only the power of diſpoſing of themſelves in the trifling article of marriage. Females, perhaps, I ſhall admit ſomewhat earlier, provided they be either witty or handſome, or have a fortune of five thouſand pounds and upwards.

Together with childhood, I exclude all other civil incapacities; and here I mean not only legal but real lunatics and ideots. In this number I include all perſons who, from the whole tenor of their conduct, appear to be incapable of diſcerning good from bad, right from wrong, or wiſdom from folly, in any inſtance whatever.

There are again ſome perſons whom I ſhall admit only to a partial exerciſe of this office; as, for inſtance, rakes, beaux, ſharpers, and fine ladies, are ſtrictly forbidden, under penalty of perpetual excluſion, to preſume to criticiſe on any works of religion or morality. All lawyers, phyſicians, ſurgeons, and apothecaries, are ſtrictly forbidden to paſs any judgment on thoſe authors who attempt any reformation in law, or phyſic. Officers of ſtate, and would-be officers of ſtate (honeſt men only excepted,) with all their attendants and dependents, their placemen and would-be placemen, pimps, ſpies, paraſites, informers, and agents, are forbidden, under the penalty aforeſaid, to give their opinions of any work in which the good of the kingdom, in general, is deſigned to be advanced; but as for all pamphlets which anywiſe concern

Digitized by Google

concern the great cauſe of Woodal Out, and Takeall In, Eſqs. full liberty is left to both parties, and the one may univerſally cry up and commend, and the other may univerſally cenſure and condemn, as uſual. All critics offending againſt this clauſe, are to be deemed infamous; and their ſeveral criticiſms are hereby declared to be entirely void, and of none effect.

No author is to be admitted into the order of critics, until he hath read over, and underſtood Ariſtotle, Horace, and Longinus, in their original language; nor then without a teſtimonial that he hath ſpoken well of ſome living author beſides himſelf.

Laſtly, All perſons are forbidden, under the penalty of our higheſt diſpleaſure, to preſume to criticiſe upon any of thoſe works with which *we ourſelves* ſhall think proper to oblige the public; and any perſon who ſhall preſume to offend in this particular, will not only be expunged from the roll of critics, but will be degraded from any other order to which he ſhall belong; and his name will be forthwith entered in the records of Grub-ſtreet.

ALEXANDER DRAWCANSIR.

NUMB. 4. TUESDAY, January 14.

------Nanum cujuſdam Atlanta vocamus:
Æthiopem Cygnum: parvam extortamque puellam
Europen. Canibus pigris ſcabieque vetuſta
Lævibus, et ſiccæ lambentibus ora lucernæ,
Nomen erit Pardus, Tigris, Leo; ſi quid adhuc eſt
Quod fremat in terris violentius.------

Juv. Sat. viii.

'ONE may obſerve,' ſays Mr Locke, 'in all 'languages, certain words, that, if they be 'examined, will be found, in their firſt original, 'and their appropriated uſe, not to ſtand for any 'clear and diſtinct ideas.' Mr Locke gives us the inſtances of Wiſdom, Glory, Grace. 'Words which

Digitized by Google

'are frequent enough (ſays he) in every man's mouth: 'but if a great many of thoſe who uſe them, ſhould 'be aſked what they mean by them, they would be 'at a ſtand, and not know what to anſwer: a plain 'proof, that though they have learned thoſe ſounds, 'and have them ready at their tongue's end, yet 'there are no determined ideas laid up in their minds, 'which are to be expreſſed to others by them.'

Beſides the ſeveral cauſes by him aſſigned of the abuſe of words, there is one, which, though the great philoſopher hath omitted it, ſeems to have contributed not a little to the introduction of this enormous evil. This is that privilege which divines and moral writers have aſſumed to themſelves of doing violence to certain words, in favour of their own hypotheſis, and of uſing them in a ſenſe often directly contrary to that which cuſtom (the abſolute lord and maſter, according to Horace, of all the modes of ſpeech) hath allotted them.

Perhaps, indeed, this fault may be ſeen in ſomewhat a milder light (and I would always ſee the blemiſhes of ſuch writers in the mildeſt.) It may not, perhaps, be ſo juſtly owing to any deſigned oppoſition to cuſtom, as a total ignorance of it; an ignorance, which is almoſt inſeparably annexed to a collegiate life, and which any man, indeed, may venture to own without bluſhing.

But whatever may be the cauſe of this abuſe of words, the conſequence is certainly very bad: for whilſt the author and the world receive different ideas from the ſame words, it will be pretty difficult for them to comprehend each other's meaning; and hence, perhaps, it is that ſo many gentlemen and ladies have contracted a general odium to all works of religion and morality, and that many others have been readers in this way all their lives without drawing from it any practical uſe.

It would, perhaps, be an office very worthy the labour of a good commentator to explain certain hard words, which frequently occur in the works of Barrow, Tillotſon, Clark, and others of this kind. Such are Heaven, Hell, Judgment, Righteouſneſs, Sin, *&c.* All which,

Digitized by Google

which, it is reasonable to believe, are at present very little understood.

Instead, however, of undertaking this task myself, at least at present, I shall apply the residue of this paper to the use of such writers only. I shall here give a short Glossary of such terms as are at present greatly in use, and shall endeavour to fix to each those exact ideas which are annexed to every of them in the world; for while the learned in colleges do, as I apprehend, consider them all in a very different light, their labours are not likely to do much service to the polite part of mankind.

A modern Glossary.

ANGEL. The name of a woman, commonly of a very bad one.

AUTHOR. A laughing-stock. It means likewise a poor fellow, and in general an object of contempt.

BEAR. A country gentleman; or, indeed, any animal upon two legs that doth not make a handsome bow.

BEAUTY. The qualification with which women generally go into keeping.

BEAU. With the article A before it, means a great favourite of all women.

BRUTE. A word implying plain dealing and sincerity; but more especially applied to a philosopher.

CAPTAIN. } Any stick of wood with a head to
COLONEL. } it, and a piece of black ribband upon that head.

CREATURE. A quality expression of low contempt, properly confined only to the mouths of ladies who are Right honourable.

CRITIC. Like Homo, a name common to all human race.

COXCOMB. A word of reproach, and yet, at the same time, signifying all that is most commendable.

DAMNATION. A term appropriated to the theatre;

Digitized by Google

though ſometimes more largely applied to all works of invention.

DEATH. The final end of man; as well of the thinking part of the body, as of all the other parts.

DRESS. The principal accompliſhment of men and women.

DULNESS. A word applied by all writers to the wit and humour of others.

EATING. A ſcience.

FINE. An adjective of a very peculiar kind, deſtroying, or at leaſt leſſening, the force of the ſubſtantive to which it is joined; as fine gentleman, fine lady, fine houſe, fine clothes, fine taſte;---in all which Fine is to be underſtood in a ſenſe ſomewhat ſynonymous with Uſeleſs.

FOOL. A complex idea, compounded of poverty, honeſty, piety, and ſimplicity.

GALLANTRY. Fornication and adultery.

GREAT. Applied to a thing, ſignifies bigneſs; when to a man, often littleneſs, or meanneſs.

GOOD. A word of as many different ſenſes as the Greek word χρεω, or as the Latin *Ago:* for which reaſon it is but little uſed by the polite.

HAPPINESS. Grandeur.

HONOUR, Duelling.

HUMOUR. Scandalous lies, tumbling and dancing on the rope.

JUDGE. }
JUSTICE. } An old woman.

KNAVE. The name of four cards in every pack.

KNOWLEDGE. In general means knowledge of the town; as this is, indeed, the only kind of knowledge ever ſpoken of in the polite world.

LEARNING. Pedantry.

LOVE. A word properly applied to our delight in particular kinds of food; ſometimes metaphorically ſpoken of the favourite objects of all our appetites.

MARRIAGE. A kind of traffic carried on between the two ſexes, in which both are conſtantly endeavouring to cheat each other, and both are commonly loſers in the end.

MISCHIEF.

Digitized by Google

MISCHIEF. Fun, ſport, or paſtime.
MODESTY. Aukwardneſs, ruſticity.
NO-BODY. All the people in Great-Britain, except about 1200.
NONSENSE. Philoſophy, eſpecially the philoſophical writings of the ancients, and more eſpecially of Ariſtotle.
OPPORTUNITY. The ſeaſon of cuckoldom.
PATRIOT. A candidate for a place at court.
POLITICS. The art of getting ſuch a place.
PROMISE. Nothing.
RELIGION. A word of no meaning; but which ſerves as a bugbear to frighten children with.
RICHES. The only thing upon earth that is really valuable, or deſirable.
ROGUE. } A man of a different party from your-
RASCAL. } ſelf.
SERMON. A ſleeping doſe.
SUNDAY. The beſt time for playing at cards.
SHOCKING. An epithet which fine ladies apply to almoſt every thing. It is, indeed, an interjection (if I may ſo call it) of delicacy.
TEMPERANCE. Want of ſpirit.
TASTE. The préſent whim of the town, whatever it be.
TEASING. Advice; chiefly that of a huſband.
VIRTUE. } Subjects of diſcourſe.
VICE. }
WIT. Prophaneneſs, indecency, immorality, ſcurrility, mimickry, buffoonry. Abuſe of all good men, and eſpecially of the clergy.
WORTH. Power. Rank. Wealth.
WISDOM. The art of acquiring all three.
WORLD. Your own acquaintance.

Digitized by Google

NUMB. 8. TUESDAY, January 28.

Ambubaiarum collegia, pharmacopolæ,
Mendici, mimi, balatrones, hoc genus omne.
HOR.

A motley mixture! in long wigs, in bags,
In silks, in crapes, in garters, and in rags.
Dunciad.

THE following is a literal copy of the fragment mentioned in my sixth paper. In what language it was originally writ, is impossible to determine. To determine this would be, indeed, to ascertain who these Robinhoodians were; a point, as we shall shew in our comment, of the utmost difficulty. From the apparent difference in the style and spelling of the translation, it seems to have been done into English by several hands, and probably in distant ages. I have placed my conjectures concerning some doubtful words, at the bottom of the page, without venturing to disturb the text.

* *Importinent questions concarning* relidgin *and* guberment, *handyled by the Robinhoodians.*

March 8, 1751.

THIS evenin the question at the Robinhood was, Whether relidgin was of any youse to sosyaty; baken † bifor mee To'mmas Whytebred, baker.

James Skotchum, barber, spak as floweth: Sir, I ham of upinion, that relidgin can be of no youse to any mortal sole; bycause as why, relidgin is of no youse to trayd, and if relidgin be of no youse to trayd, how

* Perhaps *impertinent*.

† I think this should be read *taken*, and the baker's being intent on his trade occasioned the corruption.

ist

ist it is yousefool to sosyaty. Now no body can deny but that a man maye kary on his trayd very wel without religon; nay, and better two, for then he maye wurk won day in a wik mor than at presyat; whereof no body can saye but that seven is mor than six: besides, if we haf no relidgin we shall haf no pairsuns *, and that will be a grate savin to the sosyaty; and it is a macksum † in trayd, that a peny sav'd is a peny got. Whereof----------The end of this speech seems to be wanting, as doth the beginning of the next.

----------different opinion from the learned gentleman who spoke first to the question: first, I deny that trade can be carried on without religion; for how often is the sanction of an oath necessary in contracts, and how can we have oaths without religion? As to the gaining one day in seven, which the gentleman seems to lay much stress upon, I do admit it to be an argument of great force; but I question, as the people have been long used to idleness on that day, whether it would be easy to make them work upon it; and, consequently, if they had no churches to go to, whether they would not resort to some worse place? As to the expence of parsons, I cannot think it is prejudicial to the society in general; for the parsons are members of the society; and whether they who do but little, or others who do nothing at all for their livelihood, possess their revenues, is a matter of no manner of concern to the public. Indeed, what the gentleman says concerning the Dutch, I shall own is highly to the honour of those industrious people; and I question not but if religion was to interfere with any branch of our trade, there is still so much good sense left in this nation that we should presently sacrifice the shadow to the substance. But though some instances should occur, in which religion may be prejudicial, it cannot be fairly argued from thence, that religion is therefore of no use to the society; and till that can be proved, I shall not give my vote for its abolition. But at present------*hammer down.*

* Read *parsons* † Read *maxim.*

Mr

Mr Mac Flouriſh, ſtudent. I ſhall with grate reedneſs undertake that toſk upon my ſeel.---Sir, the queeſtion, as I tak it, is, whether relegiŏn be of any uſe to ſociety? And, Sir, this is a queeſtion of that degnity, that grete emportance, that when I conſeder the matter of wheech I am to ſpeke, the degnity of the odience before whom I am to ſpeke, when I refleect on the ſmallneſs of my own abeelities, weel may I be ſtruck with the greeteſt awe and reveerence: for, Sir, neither Demoſthenes, nor Eſchines, nor Cecero, nor Hortenſius, ever handled a more emportant queeſtion: and, Sir, ſhould any thing meſbecoming drop from me on this grate occaſion, though your candour, your beneevolence, might encline you to extend an unmerited attention, yet, Sir, theſe walls, theſe ſtones, theſe boards, theſe very bracks, withute ears, withute a tongue, would tacitly expreſs their endeegnation. Sir, it is a queeſtion, that whoever hath rede hiſtory, or deeved at all into the exceelent myſtery of politics, muſt confees, that all the grete pheeloſophers, poets, oraters, hiſtorians---*hammer down*---

Mr Ocurry, ſolicitor. Upon my ſhoul, I am very ſorry now that the rules of this grate ſociety forced the laſt very learned gentleman to ſit down before he told us his opinion; but, whatever it be, I am after being of the ſaame. It is very true, upon my ſhoul, what he ſaid, that it is a very great queſtion, and I do not well know fether I underſtand it as yet, or no: but this I think, that if religion be a great hurt to the nation, I cannot for my ſhoul ſee whefe the good of it is. This I know very well, that there is a very good religion in Ireland, and they do call it the Roman Catholic religion, and I am of it myſelf, though I don't very well know what it is. There is ſomething about beads and maſſes, and patty noſters, and ivy marys, and I will fight for it as long as I am alive, and longer. ---And upon my ſhoul I will tell you a good thing, if you are afraid of your own religion, you may ſend for ours, for I know it will come; for father Patrick Ocain did tell me, he would bring it along with him. Nay, he tould me, that he had brought it hither before

Digitized by Google

fore he did come himſelf. [At which there was a laugh.]

Mr Giles Shuttle, weaver.---I hope, no gentleman will treat this thing as a jeſt, whereof I thinks it to be a very great matter of earneſt. Whereof I don't much underſtand your ſpeech-making ſort of work, but this I thinks, that I am as a good judge of theſe ſort of matters, for I am worth a hundred pounds, and owes no man a farthing. Whereof I thinks, I am as good a man as another; for why ſhould not any other man have as much ſenſe as a gentleman? I thinks I knows ſomething of trade; that, to be ſure, is the main article in every trading nation, whereby---Here the firſt paper was broke off. The ſecond is as follows:

Queſtion. Whether Infinite Power could make the world out of nothing?

The ſpeakers to this queſtion were Mr Thomas Tinderbox, the chandler; Mr George White, boatſwain's mate; Mr Edward Peacock, victualler; Mr Buge, the ſhoemaker; Mr Gooſe, the tailor; Mr Halt, the maker of pattins; and one great Scholar, whoſe name I do not know.

It was urged on the behalf of Infinite Power, That we have no very adequate idea of it: That there are many things which we ſee are, and yet we cannot, with any great certainty, tell how they came to be: That, ſo far from our reaſon being able to comprehend every thing, ſome wiſe men have doubted, whether we do, with certainty, comprehend any thing: That whatever we may think we know, we do not know how we think: That either every thing was made by ſomething out of nothing, or elſe nothing made every thing either out of ſomething or nothing. And, laſtly; That Infinite Power might more reaſonably be ſuppoſed to create every thing out of nothing, than no power at all could be ſuppoſed to make every thing out of any thing.

On the contrary, it was well argued, that nothing can be made out of nothing, for, *ex nihil, O nothing is fit:* That every day's experience muſt convince us of this; that, by infinite power, was only meant a very great

Digitized by Google

great degree of power; but that, if the one thing to be done be not the subject of power, the smallest degree will be equal to the greatest. And it was urged, with great force of wit and eloquence, by Mr Goose, that the best tailor, and the worst, were alike unable to make a coat without materials: that, in this case, a tailor with infinite power would be in the same condition with a tailor who had no power at all. And if so small a thing as a coat could not be made out of nothing, how could so large a thing as the world be cut out of the same no materials? The Scholar gave a very good answer to what had been offered concerning our ignorance of infinite power, and said, If he had no adequate idea of it, it was a good cause of disbelieving it; for, as reason was to be judge of all things what was not the object of reason, ought to be rejected by it. He admired, that there were some things which did exist, and that we did not as yet know the manner in which they came to exist; but it did not follow that such causes were above the reach of human reason because she had not yet discovered them; for, he made no doubt but that this society, by means of their free inquiry after truth, would, in the end, discover the whole; and that the manner in which a man was made would be no more a mystery to posterity, than it is to the present age how they make a pudding. He concluded with saying, that some very wise and learned men, who lived near three thousand years ago, had asserted that the world had existed from all eternity, which opinion seemed to solve all difficulties, and was, as it appeared, highly agreeable to the sentiments of the whole society.

Question. Whether, in the opinion of this society, the government did right in-----

Here ends this valuable fragment, on which I shall give my comment in my next paper.

NUMB.

Digitized by Google

NUMB. 9. SATURDAY, February 1.

Dic quibus in terris, et eris mihi magnus Apollo.
VIRG.

Tell in what clime these people did appear,
And you shall be the laureat of next year.

IT will be a very difficult matter to fix with any certainty, at what place, and amongst what people, the Robin-hood society was held, as we have not the least light to guess from what language the fragment which now remains to us, was originally translated. Two things may be averred, that this society was held in some country where the people were extremely free; and, secondly, that it was in a country, where that part of the community, which the French call *la Canaille*, was at the head of public affairs.

From the latter of these circumstances, it appears that these Robinhoodians cannot be placed among the Egyptians; for Diodorous Siculus, speaking of these people, tells us, that "Whereas in all democracies "great injury is done to the state by the populace in- "terfering in the public councils, the Egyptians very "severely punished those artificers who presumed to "meddle with matters of government *."

Nor can I ever believe, that the question, whether religion was of any use to the society, would ever have been supported amongst a people so highly devoted to superstition, that religion was indeed the foundation of their civil society.

The same objection will recur against placing this society in Athens: for though Pericles, in his speech to the Athenians, recorded in Thucydides, compliments his countrymen with being all politicians, "Among us," says he, "even the mechanics are

* Diod. Sic. fol. 68. Edit. Rhod. Hanov. Πλεῖστοι δὲ ταῖς δημοκρατουμέναις πόλεσιν, κ. τ. λ.

"not

Digitized by Google

" not inferior to their fellow-citizens in political " knowledge * ;" yet in a country where Socrates was put to death, for attempting an innovation in religious matters, it is hard to believe that the dregs of the people would have been permitted to have queſtioned the very firſt principles of all religion with impunity.

And this objection will, I apprehend, hold likewiſe againſt all other ſtates, not only thoſe which we call civilized, but even the Tartars, Goths, Vandals, and Picts, *&c.* from the time they are recorded in hiſtory; none of theſe having been found without their deities. and without a very ſtrong perſuaſion of the truth of ſome religion or other. And ſo far were they all from doubting whether religion was of any uſe, or, as the fragment hath it, youſe to the ſociety, that they carried the images of their gods with them to war, and relied upon their favours and aſſiſtance for ſucceſs in all affairs.

To ſay the truth, the only people now upon earth, among whoſe anceſtors I can ſuppoſe ſuch an aſſembly to have been held, are the inhabitants of a certain tract of land in Africa, bordering on the Cape of Good Hope, commonly known unto us by the name of the Hottentots.

I am, however, well aware that there are many objections to this opinion. Firſt, that theſe Hottentots are ſuppoſed not to have any knowledge of religion at all, nor ever to have heard the name of the divinity; whereas it appears manifeſtly that the Robinhoodians had ſome kind of religion even eſtabliſhed in their country, and that the name of G--- was at leaſt known among them.

It is unneceſſary to obſerve, likewiſe, that the members of this ſociety had more of the uſe of letters, and were better ſkilled in the rules of oratory, than the Hottentots can be conceived to have been; for as to the ſpeech of Mr Mac Flouriſh, as well for the matter as for the eloquence of it, it might have been ſpoken with great applauſe in many of our politeſt aſſemblies.

* Thucyd. lib. ii. c. 40. Καὶ ἠπείροις πρὸς ἔργα τετραμμένοις, κ. τ. λ.

Upon

Digitized by Google

Upon the whole, therefore, I muſt confeſs myſelf entirely at a loſs in forming any probable conjecture as to what part of the earth theſe Robinhoodians inhabited; not being able to trace the leaſt footſteps of them in any hiſtory I have ever ſeen.

As to the time in which they flouriſhed, the fragment itſelf will lend us ſome little aſſiſtance. It is dated 151; which figures, I make no doubt, ſhould be all joined together, and then the only doubt will be from what æra this reckoning began.

And here, I think, there can be no doubt, but that the æra intended was that of the general flood in the time of Noah, and that the Robinhoodians were ſome party of thoſe people, who are ſaid, after the diſperſion at Babel, to have been ſcattered over the face of the earth.

Thoſe imperfect notions of religion which they appear to have entertained, admirably well agree with this opinion; for it is very reaſonable to ſuppoſe that ſuch immediate interpoſitions of providence, or, to ſpeak more adequately, ſuch denunciations of divine vengeance, as were exemplified in the deluge, and the diſperſion at Babel, could ſcarce be ſo immediately eradicated as not to leave ſome little impreſſion, ſome ſmall ſparks of religious veneration, in the grand-children and great-grand-children of thoſe who had been ſpectators of ſuch dreadful ſcenes; as, on the other hand, both ſacred and profane hiſtory aſſures us, that theſe ſparks were faint, and not ſufficient to kindle any true devotion among them.

Again, as the fragment very plainly appears to have been tranſlated by ſeveral hands, ſo may we very reaſonably infer that it was tranſlated out of as many various languages: Another reaſon to fix the date of this aſſembly ſoon after the above-mentioned diſperſion.

Laſtly, The name of Robinhood puts the matter beyond all doubt or queſtion; this word being, as a learned etymologiſt obſerved to me, clearly derived from the Tower of Babel; for firſt Robin and Bobin are allowed to be the ſame word; the firſt ſyllable then is Bob; change o into a, which is only a meta-

Digitized by Google

theſis of one vowel for another, and you have Bab; then ſupply the termination el inſtead of ing (for both are only terminations) and you have clearly the word Babel.

As for h in hood, it is known to be no letter at all, and therefore an etymologiſt may there place what letter he pleaſes, and why not a t as well as any other. Then change the final into an r, and you have toor, which hath a better pretence, than the known word tor, to ſignify tower.---Thus, by a few inconſiderable changes, the Robin-hood and Babel-Tower appear to be one and the ſame word.

Two objections have been made to the great antiquity of this fragment; the firſt is, that Ireland is mentioned in it, which, as Camden and others would make us believe, was not peopled till many ages after the æra I have above mentioned: but theſe learned men are certainly in a miſtake; for I am well aſſured that ſeveral Iriſh beggars, whoſe anceſtors were diſpoſſeſſed in the wars of the laſt century, are after having now in their poſſeſſion the title-deeds of their ſaid eſtates from long before the times of Noah.

The other objection is, that the Dutch are likewiſe mentioned in the fragment; a people, as they are generally ſuppoſed, of a much later riſe in the world than the period of time which I have endeavoured to aſſign to this ſociety.

To this I anſwer, that though that body of people, who threw off the Spaniſh yoke in the time of the Duke of Alva, are extremely modern, yet are the Dutch themſelves of very great antiquity, as hath been well proved by the learned Goropius Becanus from the hiſtory of Herodotus.

That hiſtorian tells us, that one of the Aſſyrian kings being deſirous to diſcover who were the moſt ancient people, confined two children, a boy and a girl, till they were at the age of maturity, without ſuffering either of them to hear one articulate ſound; having determined, I know not for what reaſon, that whatever language could claim their firſt word, the people ſpeaking that language ſhould be deemed the moſt ancient.

The

Digitized by Google

The word which was first pronounced by one of them was Beker, which in the Phœnician tongue signifies bread: the Phœnicians were therefore concluded to have been the first planters of mankind.

Under this mistake the world continued many ages, till at last the learned Goropius discovered that the word Beker, which in the Phœnician tongue signifies bread, did in the Dutch language signify a baker, and that before bread was, a baker was. *Ergo, &c.*

And here I cannot help observing, that this quotation, as it proves the antiquity of the Dutch, so it proves the great antiquity of bakers, to whose honour we may likewise read in Diodorus, that Isis the wife of Osyris was immortalized among the Egyptians, for having taught them the art of baking.

Succeeding ages being unwilling to ascribe so great an honour to a woman, transferred it from her to her husband, and called him Bacchus, or, as it is more commonly by modern authors writ, Bakkus, and Bakus, which being literally done into English by the change of the Latin termination, is Baker.

Indeed, it is very reasonable to imagine that, before the invention of cookery, the bakers were held in the highest honours, as the people derived from their art the greatest dainty of which their simple taste gave them any idea. And the great esteem in which cookery is held now, may very well account for the preference given to bakers in those early ages, when these were the only cooks.

But if none of these reasons should be thought satisfactory, to fix, with any absolute certainty, the exact æra of this assembly, the following conclusions must be, I think, allowed by every reader.

First, That some religion had a kind of establishment among these people.

Secondly, That this religion, whatever it was, could not have the least sway over their morals or practice.

Thirdly, That this society, in which the first principles of religion and government were debated, was the chief assembly in this country, and Mr Whitebread, the baker, the greatest man in it.

Digitized by Google

And, laſtly, I think it can create no manner of ſurpriſe in any one, that ſuch a nation as this hath been long ſince ſwept away from the face of the earth, and the very name of ſuch a people expunged out of the memory of man.

NUMB. 10. TUESDAY, February 4.

At noſtri proavi Plautinos et numeros, et
Laudavere ſales; nimium patienter utrumque,
Ne dicam ſtulte, mirati.

Modernized.

In former times this taſteleſs, ſilly town
Too fondly prais'd Tom D'Urſey and Tom Brown.

THE preſent age ſeems pretty well agreed in an opinion, that the utmoſt ſcope and end of reading is amuſement only; and ſuch, indeed, are now the faſhionable books, that a reader can propoſe no more than mere entertainment, and it is ſometimes very well for him if he finds even this, in his ſtudies.

Letters, however, were ſurely intended for a much more noble and profitable purpoſe than this. Writers are not, I preſume, to be conſidered as mere jack-puddings, whoſe buſineſs it is only to excite laughter: this, indeed, may ſometimes be intermixed, and ſerved, up, with graver matters, in order to titillate the palate, and to recommend wholeſome food to the mind; and, for this purpoſe, it hath been uſed by many excellent authors: for why (as Horace ſays) ſhould not any one promulgate truth with a ſmile on his countenance? Ridicule, indeed, as he again intimates, is commonly a ſtronger and better method of attacking vice, than the ſeverer kind of ſatire.

When wit and humour are introduced for ſuch good purpoſes, when the agreeable is blended with the uſeful, then is the writer ſaid to have ſucceeded in every

Digitized by Google

every point. Pleasantry (as the ingenious author of Clarissa says of a story) should be made only the vehicle of instruction; and thus romances themselves, as well as epic poems, may become worthy the perusal of the greatest of men: but when no moral, no lesson, no instruction, is conveyed to the reader, where the whole design of the composition is no more than to make us laugh, the writer comes very near to the character of a buffoon; and his admirers, if an old Latin proverb be true, deserve no great compliments to be paid to their wisdom.

After what I have here advanced, I cannot fairly, I think, be represented as an enemy to laughter, or to all those kinds of writing that are apt to promote it. On the contrary, few men, I believe, do more admire the works of those great masters who have sent their satire (if I may use the expression) laughing into the world. Such are that great triumvirate, Lucian, Cervantes, and Swift. These authors I shall ever hold in the highest degree of esteem; not indeed for that wit and humour alone which they all so eminently possessed, but because they all endeavoured, with the utmost force of their wit and humour, to expose and extirpate those follies and vices which chiefly prevailed in their several countries.

I would not be thought to confine wit and humour to these writers. Shakespeare, Molière, and some other authors, have been blessed with the same talents, and have employed them to the same purposes. There are some, however, who, though not destitute of these talents, have made so wretched a use of them, that had the consecration of their labours been committed to the hands of the hangman, no good man would have regretted their loss: nor am I afraid to mention Rabelais, and Aristophanes himself, in this number. For, if I may speak my opinion freely of these two last writers, and of their works, their design appears to me very plainly to have been to ridicule all sobriety, modesty, decency, virtue, and religion, out of the world. Now whoever reads over the five great writers first mentioned above, must either have a very

Digitized by Google

bad head, or a very bad heart, if he doth not become both a wiſer and a better man.

In the exerciſe of the mind, as well as in the exerciſe of the body, diverſion is a ſecondary conſideration, and deſigned only to make that agreeable, which is at the ſame time uſeful to ſuch noble purpoſes as health and wiſdom. But what ſhould we ſay to a man who mounted his chamber-hobby, or fought with his own ſhadow, for his amuſement only? how much more abſurd and weak would he appear, who ſwallowed poiſon becauſe it was ſweet?

How differently did Horace think of ſtudy from our modern readers?

Quid verum atque decens curo et rogo, et omnis in
hoc ſum:
Condo et compono, quæ mox depromere poſſim.

"Truth and decency are my whole care and inquiry. "In this ſtudy I am entirely occupied; theſe I am "always laying up, and ſo diſpoſing, that I can at "any time draw forth my ſtores for my immediate "uſe." The whole epiſtle, indeed, from which I have paraphraſed this paſſage, is a comment upon it, and affords many uſeful leſſons of philoſophy.

When we are employed in reading a great and good author, we ought to conſider ourſelves as ſearching after treaſures, which, if well and regularly laid up in the mind, will be of uſe to us on ſundry occaſions in our lives. If a man, for inſtance, ſhould be overloaded with proſperity or adverſity (both of which caſes are liable to happen to us), who is there ſo very wiſe, or ſo very fooliſh, that, if he was a maſter of Seneca and Plutarch, could not find great matter of comfort and utility from their doctrines? I mention theſe rather than Plato or Ariſtotle, as the works of the latter are not, I think, yet completely made Engliſh; and, conſequently, are leſs within the reach of moſt of my countrymen.

But, perhaps, it may be aſked, will Seneca or Plutarch make us laugh? perhaps not; but if you are not a fool, my worthy friend, which I can hardly with

Digitized by Google

with civility ſuſpect, they will both (the latter eſpecially) pleaſe you more than if they did. For my own part, I declare, I have not read even Lucian himſelf with more delight than I have Plutarch; but ſurely it is aſtoniſhing, that ſuch ſcribblers as Tom Brown, Tom D'Urfey, and the wits of our age, ſhould find readers, whilſt the writings of ſo excellent, ſo entertaining, and ſo voluminous an author as Plutarch remain in the world, and, as I apprehend, are very little known.

The truth, I am afraid, is, that real taſte is a quality with which human nature is very ſlenderly gifted. It is indeed ſo very rare, and ſo little known, that ſcarce two authors have agreed in their notions of it; and thoſe who have endeavoured to explain it to others, ſeem to have ſucceeded only in ſhewing us that they knew it not themſelves. If I might be allowed to give my own ſentiments, I ſhould derive it from a nice harmony between the imagination and the judgment; and hence, perhaps, it is, that ſo few have ever poſſeſſed this talent in any eminent degree. Neither of theſe will alone beſtow it; nothing is indeed more common than to ſee men of very bright imaginations, and of very accurate learning (which can hardly be acquired without judgment,) who are entirely devoid of taſte; and Longinus, who of all men ſeems moſt exquiſitely to have poſſeſſed it, will puzzle his reader very much if he ſhould attempt to decide, whether imagination or judgment ſhine the brighter in that inimitable critic.

But as for the bulk of mankind, they are clearly void of any degree of taſte. It is a quality in which they advance very little beyond a ſtate of infancy. The firſt thing a child is fond of in a book, is a picture; the ſecond is a ſtory; and the third a jeſt. Here then is the true *Pons Aſinorum*, which very few readers ever get over.

From what I have ſaid, it may perhaps be thought to appear, that true taſte is the real gift of Nature only; and if ſo, ſome may aſk, to what purpoſe have I endeavoured to ſhew men that they are without a bleſſing, which it is impoſſible for them to attain?

Now,

Digitized by Google

Now, though it is certain that to the higheſt conſummation of taſte, as well as of every other excellence, Nature muſt lend much aſſiſtance; yet great is the power of art almoſt of itſelf, or at beſt with only ſlender aids from Nature: and to ſay the truth, there are very few who have not in their minds ſome ſmall ſeeds of taſte. "All men (ſays Cicero) have a ſort "of tacit ſenſe of what is right or wrong in arts and "ſciences, even without the help of arts." This ſurely it is in the power of art very greatly to improve. That moſt men therefore proceed no farther than as I have above declared, is owing either to the want of any, or (which is perhaps yet worſe) to an improper education.

I ſhall probably, therefore, in a future paper, endeavour to lay down ſome rules by which all men may acquire, at leaſt, ſome degree of taſte. In the mean while, I ſhall (according to the method obſerved in innoculation) recommend to my readers, as a preparative for their receiving my inſtructions, a total abſtinence from all bad books. I do therefore moſt earneſtly intreat all my young readers, that they would cautiouſly avoid the peruſal of any modern book till it hath firſt had the ſanction of ſome wiſe and learned man; and the ſame caution I propoſe to all fathers, mothers, and guardians.

"Evil communications corrupt good manners." is a quotation of St Paul from Menander. *Evil books corrupt at once both our manners and our taſte.*

Digitized by Google

NUMB. 17. SATURDAY, February 29.

Credite, Posteri. HOR.

Let posterity take my word for it.

IT is a common expression with historians, "That "such and such facts will hardly be believed by "posterity;" and yet these facts are delivered by them as undoubted truths, and very often affirmed upon their own knowledge.

But, what is much more astonishing, many of those very instances, which are represented as difficult articles of faith by future ages, did most probably pass as common occurrences at the time when they happened, and might seem scarce worthy of any notice to the generality of people who were eye-witnesses to the transactions.

The cardinal de Retz, after relating the almost incredible distress of the then queen of England, who was likewise the daughter of France, and had not credit at Paris for a faggot to warm herself in the month of January, proceeds thus: "Nous avons horreur, en lisant les histoires de lachetez moins monstreuses que celle-la; & le peu de sentiment que je "trouvais dans la plupart des esprits sur ce fait m'a "oblige de faire, je crois, plus de mille fois cette reflection: que les exemples du passe touchant sans "comparison plus les hommes que ceux de leurs "siecles. Nous nous accoutumons a tout se que nous "voions; & je vous ai dit quelquefois, que je ne "sais si le consulat du cheval de Caligula nous auroit "autant surprit que nous nous l'imaginons." "We 'are shocked, in reading history, at many less scandalous instances than this; and the little impression 'which I observed this made in the generality of mens 'minds at that time, hath caused this reflection to 'recur to me a thousand times, That the examples 'of former ages do beyond all comparison more sensibly affect us, than those of our own times. Cus-

'tom

Digitized by Google

'tom blinds us with a kind of glare to thoſe objects 'before our eyes; and I have often doubted whether 'we ſhould have been as much ſurpriſed at Caligula, 'when he made his horſe a conſul, as we are apt to 'imagine we ſhould have been.'

I can with truth declare, that I have a thouſand times reflected on the judicious diſcernment of this uncommon obſervation; the juſtice and excellence of which I will endeavour to illuſtrate to my reader, by taking once more a ſurvey of that opinion which poſterity may be reaſonably ſuppoſed to entertain of the preſent times; and as I have formerly ſhewn that they will probably, in ſome inſtances, believe much more than ourſelves, ſo, in others, it is altogether as probable, that they will believe leſs.

Without further preface, then, let us ſuppoſe ſome great and profound critic, in the fortieth century, undertaking to comment on thoſe hiſtorical materials relating to this kingdom, with which that age may poſſibly furniſh him; and in what manner may we conceive him more likely to write than in the following?

Abſtract from Humphry Newmixon's Obſervations on the Hiſtory of Great Britain.

* * * * * * * *
* * * * * * *

Deſunt multa.

THOUGH it is impoſſible to deliver any thing with great certainty of thoſe fabulous ages, which a little preceded the time when univerſal ignorance began to overſpread the face of the earth, and more eſpecially prevailed in this iſland, till the reſtoration of learning, which firſt began in the thirty-ſixth century; ſome few monuments of antiquity have, however, triumphed over the rage of barbariſm, which may ſerve us to confute the horrid forgeries of that Legendary, Geoffry Bechard, who wrote about the year 3000.

This

Digitized by Google

This Geoffry, writing of the year 1751, hath the following words: 'The Inglis hat ſet temps ware ſoe 'dicted to gamein, ſoe that ſeveral off the grate menn 'yous'd to mak yt thee ſoal biſneſs off theyre lifs; 'hand knot unli thee meſſirs, butt alſo theyre fems 'yous'd to ſpend a hole dais, hand knits hatt thayr 'cartes. Les fems auſſi afs meſſirs cheept thayre 'l'aſſemble forr thatt propos, hat whitch les fems 'hat perdus mundoy quelle thayres meſſirs rop koon-'tri for get.'

So far this biſhop, who was reputed to be one of the moſt learned men of his age, *quia legire & ſcribire potebat*, ſays a cotemporary author: but thoſe who contend the moſt for his learning, will be able, I am afraid, to ſay but little for his honeſty; ſince all muſt allow, that he was either deceived himſelf, or hath endeavoured to deceive his readers: for I have now by me a record of undoubted antiquity, by which it appears, that all kinds of gaming were, within a few years before this period of which this Geoffry writes, abſolutely prohibited under the ſevereſt penalties. This law might indeed be infringed by ſome of the loweſt of the people; and there is ſome reaſon to think it was ſo; for in a ſpeech of George the Good, delivered from the throne in that very year 1751, a ſevere execution of the laws in this reſpect is recommended to the magiſtrate.

But that the great men, as the biſhop ſays, ſhould fly thus in the face, not only of thoſe laws which they themſelves made, but of their ſovereign too, is too incredible to be impoſed even on children.

Again, here is a reflection not only on the great men, but on the great ladies of thoſe times, who are repreſented in a light, which I ſhall not affront the preſent virtuous and prudent matrons, their great grand-daughters in the ſeventieth deſcent, by mentioning. But how inconſiſtent is this character with what we find in the writings of Sir Alexander Drawcanſir, the only annaliſt of whoſe works any part hath deſcended to us, who, in one of his annals or journals, acquaints us, that there was not a ſingle lady in his time married, who was not poſ-

ſeſſed

Digitized by Google

ſeſſed of every qualification to make the marriage-ſtate happy?

The ſame authority is ſufficient to contradict the abſurd account which this Geoffry gives in another place of the ladies of thoſe days; where he ſays that women of the firſt quality uſed to make nightly riots in their own houſes. One paſſage is ſo ridiculous, that I cannot omit it. The ladies of St James's pariſh, ſays he, uſed to treat their company with Drums; and this was thought one of their moſt elegant entertainments; ſome copies, I know, read Drams, but the former is the true reading, nor would the latter much cure the abſurdity.

A learned critic, indeed, of my acquaintance, ſuſpects, that the above paſſage is corrupt, and propoſes inſtead of St James's, to read St Giles's, and inſtead of Drum, to read Dram; and then, he ſays, the above account will agree with a record of that age; by which it appears, that the women of St Giles's pariſh were notoriouſly addicted to dram-drinking at that time. And as for the word Lady, he urges, that it did not then, as it doth now, ſignify a woman of great rank and diſtinction, but was applied promiſcuouſly to the whole female ſex; to ſupport which he produces a paſſage from Sir Alexander Drawcanſir, where the wife of a low mechanic is called a lady of great merit.

Another legend, recorded by our Geoffry, is ſufficient of itſelf to deſtroy his credit. He tells us, that a *herd of bucks* uſed to frequent all the public places; nay, he ſays that two or three ſuch animals would ſometimes venture among ſeveral thouſands of gentlemen and ladies, and put them all into confuſion and diſorder. This is a very ſcandalous reflection on the gentlemen of thoſe days; but it is at the ſame time ſo incredible, that it needs no refutation.

The truth, I believe, is, that the biſhop was a weak and credulous man, and very eaſily impoſed upon; eſpecially in thoſe matters with which his function prevented him from being well acquainted. What he writes of their theatrical entertainments is beyond all meaſure ridiculous. 'De vurſt nite of le play (ſays he)

Digitized by Google

he) 'd'author was put a de ſtake ſur on de theatre
'ſtage, dare des criticats dey palt at him, hyeſs him,
'catadecall him; off, off him, vor too dree heares.
'Dis de dam playe. Des criticats be de a perentice,
'klarque, boo, buccuk and gamambler.'

Now, I will refer it to any one, whether the hiſtorian can be conceived here to write of a civilized people; and ſuch the Britons are allowed on all hands to have been at that time.

Monſieur de Belle Lettre, in his Melange Critique, which he publiſhed in the year 3892, treats the whole hiſtory of this Geoffry as a romance; and, indeed, what is recorded in it concerning dogs, ſeems ſufficiently to favour this opinion. At this time, ſays Bechard, the chief learning among thoſe people was among the dogs. Learned was then a common epithet to ſeveral of the canine ſpecies, and a great diſpute was for a long time carried on between a French and Engliſh individual of this ſpecies. We know not in whoſe favour it was determined; but it is agreed on all hands, that the queſtion was, which was the moſt learned of the two? The hiſtorian adds, that ſeveral of the moſt eminent writers were of the canine kind; and were univerſally called ſad dogs*.

The biſhop concludes his hiſtory with theſe words:
'Monſtr, incred ten thouſand pip. ſiffi nit. up got zee
'ooſtryche tap tonnobus, is pregados, zat zocurn hypor
'hoperad abun, idelonycus quinto purzin inmus ſi-
'fadon addili.'

Which is ſo ridiculous a ſuppoſition, that I ſhall leave it with the reader without any remark.

* Sad is ſynonymous with grave, wiſe. The judges were formerly called "ſad men of the law."

Digitized by Google

NUMB. 21. SATURDAY, March 14.

Est miserorum, ut malevolentes sint atque invideant bonis. PLAUTUS.

It is a miserable state to be malevolent and to envy good men.

I SHALL publish the following letter with the same design that the Spartans exposed drunken men to the view of their children. Examples may perhaps have more advantage over precepts, in teaching us to avoid what is odious, than in impelling us to pursue what is amiable. If the reader will peruse it with attention, he will, I conceive, discover in it a very useful moral; of which I shall give no further hint, than by desiring the reader not to be offended at the contradictions that occur in it.

MR CENSOR,

WHEN I first read the name of Axylus to a letter in your paper, though I easily perceived the writer to be a silly fellow, I little guessed who was the individual person; but in this second performance he hath been pleased to acquaint me who he is.

The fellow, Sir, you are to know, I have employed every means in my power to persecute, ever since I was acquainted with him; not because he is a fool (for I have no fixed quarrel with so numerous a body,) but because he is in reality a good man.

You will perhaps think this a very strange confession; and so it would be, if there was any possibility of your guessing from whom it came; but I have the satisfaction to be assured, that, though I am actually known both to you and your friend Axylus, I shall be the last person in the world to whom either of you will impute the character I shall here lay open. I well know that I pass upon you both, and a thousand other such wise people, for one of the best and worthiest men

men alive: for, as a late orator at the Robinhood said, He had the honour to be an atheiſt; ſo I, Sir, have the honour to be a moſt profound hypocrite. By which means I have univerſally obtained a good character, and perhaps a much better than what the ſilly Axylus hath acquired by really deſerving it: for, as Plato remarks in the ſecond book of his Republic, the juſt man and the unjuſt man are often reciprocally miſtaken by mankind, and do frequently paſs in the world the one for the other. The reaſon of which, as I take it, and as he in Plato indeed intimates, is, that the former are for the moſt part fools, and the latter are men of ſenſe.

If I could ſo far prevail, however, as to deprive this Axylus of all the praiſe which he receives from his actions, and to ſhew him in an opprobrious light to the world, I might perhaps be contented, and wiſh him ill no longer. And yet I am not poſitive that this would be the caſe: for what amends can it make to a man who ſees his miſtreſs in his rival's arms, that the world in general are perſuaded that he himſelf alone enjoys her; or could all the flattery of his courtiers, and all the Te-deums of his prieſts, ſatisfy Lewis XIV. and prevent his envying the duke of Marlborough? I am well appriſed that the reputation of goodneſs is all which I aim at, and is all which a wiſe man would deſire; notwithſtanding which, I am convinced that praiſe ſounds moſt harmonious to that ear where it finds an echo from within: nay, who knows the ſecret comforts which a good heart may dictate from within, even when all without are ſilent! I perceive ſymptoms of ſuch inward ſatisfaction in Axylus, and for that reaſon I envy and hate him from the bottom of my ſoul.

You will perhaps ſay, why then do you not imitate him? Your ſervant, Sir; ſhall I imitate a fool becauſe I ſee him happy in his folly? for, ſolly I am convinced it is to intereſt yourſelf in the happineſs, or in the concerns of others. Horace, who was a ſenſible writer, and knew the world, adviſes every man to roll himſelf up in himſelf, as a poliſhed bowl which admits of no rubs from without; and the old

Digitized by Google

Greek, like a wife rogue, exclaims; 'When I am 'dead, let the earth be conſumed by fire. It is no 'concern of mine; all my affairs are well ſettled.'

Here again it may be objected, why do you envy one whom you condemn as a fool? To this, I own, it is not eaſy to give an anſwer. In fact, Nature hath moulded up with the wiſeſt clay of man ſome very ſimple ingredients. Hence we covet thoſe commendations which we know are ſeldom beſtowed without a ſneer, and which are annexed to characters that we deſpiſe. The truth, I am afraid, is, that I would willingly be this very man. That I have ſometimes ſuch a fear, I confeſs to you, as I think it impoſſible you ſhould ever gueſs from whence the confeſſion comes; for I would not, for ten thouſand pounds, that any man ſhould know I had ever ſuch a wiſh; nay, I would not for an equal ſum know myſelf that I had it.

And from this fear, this ſuſpicion (for I once more aſſure you, and myſelf, that it is no more than a ſuſpicion,) I heartily deteſt this Axylus: for this reaſon, I have hitherto purſued him with the moſt inveterate hatred; have induſtriouſly taken every occaſion to plague him, and have let ſlip no opportunity of ruining his reputation.

I am aware, I may have let drop ſomething which may lead you into an opinion that I really eſteem this character, which I would endeavour to perſuade you I deſpiſe; but, before I finiſh this letter, I flatter myſelf I ſhall place this fellow in ſo contemptible a light, that I ſhall have no reaſon to apprehend your drawing any ſuch concluſion.

Firſt, notwithſtanding all the ſecret comforts which Axylus pretends to receive from the energies of benevolence, as he calls them, I cannot perſuade myſelf, that there is really any pleaſure in a good action. I muſt own to you, I do not ſpeak this abſolutely on my own knowledge, for I do not remember to have done one truly good, benevolent action in my whole life. Indeed, I ſhould heartily deſpiſe myſelf if I had any ſuch recollection.

And

Digitized by Google

And if there be no pleaſure in goodneſs, I am ſure there is no profit in it. This, Axylus himſelf will, I doubt not, be ready to confeſs. No man hath ever made or improved, though many have injured, and ſome have deſtroyed their fortunes this way.

In the laſt place, as to the motives which ariſe from our vanity, and which, as that very wiſe writer Dr Mandevil obſerves, are much the ſtrongeſt ſupports of what is generally called benevolence, I think to make the folly of doing good from ſuch motives very plainly appear. I am far from being an enemy to praiſe, or for expreſſing that contempt for a good character which ſome have affected. But ſurely it becomes a man to purchaſe every thiug as cheap as he can; now, why ſhould he be at the pains and expence of being good in reality, when he may ſo certainly obtain all the applauſe he aims at, merely by pretending to be ſo?

An inſtance of this I give you in myſelf, who, without having ever done a ſingle good action, have univerſally a good character; and this I have acquired by only taking upon me the trouble of ſupporting one conſtant ſeries of hypocriſy all my days.

Axylus, on the contrary, for want of undergoing this trouble, hath miſſed the praiſes he deſerves. While he careleſly doth a hundred good actions, without being at the pains of diſplaying them, they are all overlooked by the world; nay, often by my means (for I am always watchful on ſuch occaſions) his moſt diſintereſted benevolence is ſeen in a diſadvantageous light; and his goodneſs, inſtead of being commended, turns to his diſhonour.

An example of this I ſaw the other day, when you publiſhed his laſt letter, where all that is ſaid of an unhappy woman, drawn in to be guilty of the higheſt degree of wickedneſs, by the moſt wicked and profligate of men, I am convinced flowed immediately from that compaſſion which is the conſtant energy of theſe good hearts. Now, Sir, even this I turned againſt him. I repreſented it as a barbarous attempt to revile the character of a man before he had undergone his trial; and, can you believe it? ſuch is the

Digitized by Google

nature of man, I found some persons who could not, or would not, see the difference between concluding a person guilty who is in custody, and who is to undergo a legal disquisition into his crimes, and concluding one to be guilty of a fact for which he hath fled from justice, and who, even by the evidence given on oath in the solemn trial of another, appears to all the world to be guilty.

But perhaps it may be said, though the world in general do not commend your actions, still you are repaid for them sufficiently, by having the esteem, the love, the gratitude, of those to whom they are done. To this purpose, I will tell you a short story. The fact is true, and happened to Mr Axylus himself.

That silly good man had done many great services to a private family. Indeed, the very bread they ate was for a long time owing to his foolish generosity; and at length, by his advice and assistance, this family was brought from a state of poverty and distress to what might be called affluence in their condition. I was acquainted with the whole scene, and often present at it; and indeed, it was one of the pleasantest I ever saw: for while the good man was rejoicing in his own goodness, and feeding his foolish vanity with fond conceits of the grateful returns which were made to him in the bosoms of the obliged, they, on the other side, were continually laughing at his folly amongst themselves, and flattering their own ingenuity with their constant impositions on his good nature, and ascribing every thing which they obtained of him, to their own superior cunning and power of over-reaching him.

When I had enjoyed this scene till I was weary of it, I was resolved to work myself another satisfaction out of it, by tormenting the man I hate. I accordingly communicated the secret to Axylus, and gave him almost demonstration of the truth of what I told him. He answered, with a smile, he hoped I was mistaken; but, if not, he was answerable for the means only, and not for the end; and the very same day did a new favour to one of the family.

I will

Digitized by Google

I will conclude by telling you, that it was I who ſent him the trial of Miſs Blandy to vex him, and I hope you will print this letter, that he may have the plague of gueſſing at me, for I am ſure he will gueſs wrong; and perhaps may fix on one of his beſt friends; which will be doing him a very great injury, and will conſequently give great pleaſure to,

SIR, yours,

IAGO.

I cannot diſmiſs this letter without obſerving, that if there be really ſuch a perſon as this writer deſcribes himſelf, the poſſeſſion of his own bad mind is a worſe curſe to him, than he himſelf will ever be able to inflict on the happy Axylus.

NUMB. 23. SATURDAY, March 21.

Οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη· εἷς κοίρανος ἔστω,
Εἷς βασιλεύς, ᾧ ἔδωκε Κρόνου παῖς ἀγκυλομήτεω
Σκῆπτρόν τ' ἠδὲ θέμιστας, ἵνα σφισιν ἐμβασιλεύῃ.

HOMER.

--------- *Here is not allowed,*
That worſt of tyrants, an uſurping crowd.
To one ſole monarch Jove commits the ſway;
His are the laws, and him let all obey. POPE.

THOUGH of the three forms of government acknowledged in the ſchools, all have been very warmly oppoſed, and as warmly defended; yet, in this point, the different advocates will, I believe, very readily agree, that there is not one of the three which is not greatly to be preferred to a total anarchy; a ſtate in which there is no ſubordination, no lawful power, and no ſettled government; but where every man is at liberty to act in whatever manner it pleaſeth him beſt.

As

As this is in reality a moſt deplorable ſtate, I have long lamented, with great anguiſh of heart, that it is at preſent the caſe of a very large body of people in this kingdom; an aſſertion which, as it may ſurpriſe moſt of my readers, I will make haſte to explain, by declaring that I mean the fraternity of the quill, that body of men to whom the public aſſign the name of authors.

However abſurd politicians may have been pleaſed to repreſent the *imperium in imperio*, it will here, I doubt not, be found, on a ſtrict examination, to be extremely neceſſary; the commonwealth of literature being indeed totally diſtinct from the greater commonwealth, and no more dependant upon it than the kingdom of England is on that of France. Of this our legiſlature ſeems to have been at all times ſenſible, as they have never attempted any proviſion for the regulation or correction of this body. In one inſtance, it is true, there are (I ſhould rather, I believe, ſay there were) ſome laws to reſtrain them: for writers, if I am not miſtaken, have been formerly puniſhed for blaſphemy againſt God, and libels againſt the government; nay, I have been told, that to ſlander the reputation of private perſons, was once thought unlawful here as well as among the Romans, who, as Horace tells us, had a ſevere law for this purpoſe.

In promulging theſe laws (whatever may be the reaſon of ſuffering them to grow obſolete) the ſtate ſeems to have acted very wiſely; as ſuch kind of writings are really of moſt miſchievous conſequence to the public; but alas! there are many abuſes, many horrid evils, daily ſpringing up in the commonwealth of literature, which appear to affect only that commonwealth, at leaſt immediately, of which none of the political legiſlators have ever taken any notice; nor hath any civil court of judicature ever pretended to any cognizance of them. Nonſenſe and dulneſs are no crimes in *foro civili*: no man can be queſtioned for bad verſes in Weſtminſter-hall: and amongſt the many indictments for battery, not one can be pro-

duced.

Digitized by Google

duced for breaking poor Priſcian's head, though it is done almoſt every day.

But though immediately, as I have ſaid, theſe evils do not affect the greater commonwealth; yet as they tend to the utter ruin of the leſſer, ſo they have a remote evil conſequence, even on the ſtate itſelf; which ſeems, by having left them uprovided for, to have remitted them, for the ſake of convenience, to the government of laws, and to the ſuperintendence of magiſtrates of this leſſer commonwealth; and never to have foreſeen or ſuſpected that dreadful ſtate of anarchy, which at preſent prevails in this leſſer empire; an empire which hath formerly made ſo great a figure in this kingdom, and that indeed almoſt within our own memories.

It may appear ſtrange, that none of our Engliſh hiſtorians have ſpoken clearly and diſtinctly of this leſſer empire; but this may be well accounted for, when we conſider that all theſe hiſtories have been written by two ſort of perſons; that is to ſay, either politicians or lawyers. Now the former of theſe have had their imaginations ſo entirely filled with the affairs of the greater empire, that it is no wonder the buſineſs of the leſſer ſhould have totally eſcaped their obſervation. And as to the lawyers, they are well known to have been very little acquainted with the commonwealth of literature, and to have always acted and written in defiance to its laws.

For theſe reaſons, it is very difficult to fix with certainty, the exact period when this commonwealth firſt began among us. Indeed, if the originals of all the greater empires upon earth, and even of our own, be wrapped in ſuch obſcurity that they elude the inquiries of the moſt diligent ſifters of antiquity, we cannot be ſurpriſed that this fate ſhould attend our little empire, oppoſed as it hath been by the pen of the lawyer, overlooked by the eye of the hiſtorian, and never once ſmelt after by the noſe of the antiquarian.

In the earlieſt ages, the literary ſtate ſeems to have been an eccleſiaſtical democracy: for the clergy are then

Digitized by Google

then ſaid to have had all the learning among them; and the great reverence paid at that time to it by the laity, appears from hence, that whoever could prove in a court of juſtice that he belonged to this ſtate, by only reading a ſingle verſe in the Teſtament, was veſted with the higheſt privileges, and might do almoſt what he pleaſed; even commit murder with impunity. And this privilege was called the benefit of the clergy.

This commonwealth, however, can ſcarce be ſaid to have been in any flouriſhing ſtate of old time, even among the clergy themſelves; inaſmuch as we are told, that a rector of a pariſh, going to law with his pariſhioners about paving the church, quoted this authority from St Peter, *Paveant illi, non paveam ego.* Which he conſtrued thus: 'They are to pave the church, 'and not I.' And this by a judge, who was likewiſe an eccleſiaſtic, was allowed to be very good law.

The nobility had clearly no antient connection with this commonwealth, nor would ſubmit to be bound by any of its laws; witneſs that proviſion in an old act of parliament; 'that a nobleman ſhall be entitled to the benefit of his clergy (the privilege above-'mentioned,) even though he cannot read.' Nay, the whole body of the laity, though they gave ſuch honours to this commonwealth, appear to have been very few of them under its juriſdiction: as appears by a law cited by judge Rolls in his Abridgement, with the reaſon which he gives for it: 'The com-'mand of the ſheriff,' ſays this writer, 'to his officer 'by word of mouth, and without writing, is good; 'for it may be, that neither the ſheriff nor his officer 'can write or read.'

But not to dwell on theſe obſcure times, when ſo very little authentic can be found concerning this commonwealth, let us come at once to the days of Henry the eighth, when no leſs a revolution happened in the leſſer than in the greater empire: for the literary government became abſolute, together with the political, in the hands of one and the ſame monarch; who was himſelf a writer, and dictated not only law but

Digitized by Google

but common ſenſe too to all his people; ſuffering no one to write or ſpeak but according to his own will and pleaſure.

After this king's demiſe, the literary commonwealth was again ſeparated from the political; for I do not find that his ſucceſſor on the greater throne ſucceeded him likewiſe in the leſſer. Nor did either of the two queens, as I can learn, pretend to any authority in this empire, in which the ſalique law hath univerſally prevailed: for though there have been ſome conſiderable ſubjects of the female ſex in the literary commonwealth, I never remember to have read of a queen.

It is not eaſy to ſay, with any great exactneſs, what form of government was preſerved in this commonwealth during the reign of Edward VI. Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth; for though there were ſome great men in thoſe times, none of them ſeemed to have affected the throne of wit: nay, Shakeſpeare, who flouriſhed in the latter end of the laſt reign, and who ſeemed ſo juſtly qualified to enjoy this crown, never thought of challenging it.

In the reign of James I. the literary government was an ariſtocracy: for I do not chuſe to give it the evil name of oligarchy, though it conſiſted only of four; namely, maſter William Shakeſpeare, maſter Benjamin Johnſon, maſter John Fletcher, and maſter Francis Beaumont. This quadrumvirate, as they introduced a new form of government, thought proper, according to Machiavel's advice, to introduce new names; they therefore called themſelves *the wits*, a name which hath been affected ſince by the reigning monarchs in this empire.

The laſt of this quadrumvirate enjoyed the government alone during his life; after which the troubles, that ſhortly after enſued, involved this leſſer commonwealth in all the confuſion and ruin of the greater; nor can any thing be found of it with ſufficient certainty, till the *wits* in the reign of Charles the ſecond, after many ſtruggles among themſelves for ſuperiority, at laſt agreed to elect John Dryden to be their king.

This

Digitized by Google

This king John had a very long reign, though a very unquiet one; for there were ſeveral pretenders to the throne of wit in his time, who formed very conſiderable parties againſt him, and gave him great uneaſineſs, of which his ſucceſſor hath made mention in the following lines:

'Pride, folly, malice, againſt Dryden roſe,
'In various ſhapes, of parſons, critics, beaus.'

Beſides which, his finances were in ſuch diſorder, that it is affirmed his treaſury was more than once entirely empty.

He died nevertheleſs in a good old age, poſſeſſed of the kingdom of wit, and was ſucceeded by king Alexander, ſurnamed Pope.

This prince enjoyed the crown many years, and is thought to have ſtretched the prerogative much farther than his predeceſſor; he is ſaid to have been extremely jealous of the affections of his ſubjects, and to have employed various ſpies, by whom, if he was informed of the leaſt ſuggeſtion againſt his title, he never failed of branding the accuſed perſon with the word *dunce* on his forehead in broad letters; after which the unhappy culprit was obliged to lay down his pen for ever; for no bookſeller would venture to print a word that he wrote.

He did indeed put a total reſtraint on the liberty of the preſs: for no perſon durſt read any thing which was writ without his licence and approbation; and this licence he granted only to four during his reign, namely, to the celebrated Dr Swift, to the ingenious Dr Young, to Dr Arbuthnot, and to one Mr Gay, four of his principal courtiers and favourites.

But without diving any deeper into his character, we muſt allow that king Alexander had great merit as a writer, and his title to the kingdom of wit was better founded at leaſt than his enemies have pretended.

After the demiſe of king Alexander, the literary ſtate relapſed again into a democracy, or rather indeed into downright anarchy; of which, as well as of the conſequences, I ſhall treat in a future paper.

NUMB.

Digitized by Google

NUMB. 24. TUESDAY, March 24.

Nimirum ſapere eſt abjectis utile nugis,
Et tempeſtivum pueris concedere ludum. HOR.

Trifling purſuits true wiſdom caſts away;
And leaves to children all their childiſh play.

THE mind of man is compared by Montaigne to a fertile field, which, though it be left entirely uncultivated, ſtill retains all its genial powers; but, inſtead of producing any thing lovely or profitable, ſends forth only weeds and wild herbs of various kinds, which ſerve to no uſe or emolument whatſoever.

The human mind, indeed, is of too active a nature to content itſelf with a ſtate of perfect reſt or ſloth. There are few men ſuch arrant ſtocks or ſtones as to be always ſatisfied with idleneſs, or to come up to that deſcription in Lucretius:

Mortua cui vita eſt prope jam vivo, atque videnti,
Qui ſomno partem majorem conterit ævi,
Et vigilans ſtertit.

St Paul deſcribes theſe men better when writing to the Theſſalonians, he ſays ſome of them are μηδὲν ἐργαζόμενοι, ἀλλὰ περιεργαζόμενοι. 'Doing no work, but 'buſying themſelves in impertinence.' Or, as the Latin author expreſſes the ſame ſentiment; *Gratis anhelans, multa agendo nihil agens:* 'Puffing and ſweating to no purpoſe; employed about many things, 'and doing nothing.'

The original of diverſions is certainly owing to this active temper: for to what purpoſe were they calculated, but, as the very word in our language implies, to caſt off idleneſs? than which, to the generality of mankind, there is not, I believe, a much heavier burden.

Digitized by Google

But if we look a little deeper into this matter, we ſhall find that there is implanted in our nature a great love of buſineſs, and an equal abhorrence of idleneſs. This diſcovers itſelf very early in children; moſt of whom, as I have obſerved, are never better pleaſed than when they are employed by their elders.

The ſame diſpoſition we may perceive in men; in thoſe particularly to whom Fortune hath made buſineſs unneceſſary, and whom Nature very plainly appears never to have deſigned for any. And yet, how common is it to ſee theſe men playing at buſineſs, if I may uſe the expreſſion, and pleaſing themſelves all their lives with the imagination that they are not idle!

From this buſy temper may be derived almoſt all the works with which great men have obliged the world. Hence it was that the great artifex Nero arrived at ſo great ſkill, as he himſelf tells us he did, in muſic; to which he applied with ſuch unwearied induſtry on the ſtage, that ſeveral perſons counterfeited death, in order to be carried out of the theatre from hearing him; for it would have been very unſafe for the *town* of Rome to damn his performances.

If Domitian had not been of a buſy as well as a cruel temper, he could never have employed ſo many hours in the ingenious employment of fly-ſpitting, which he is ſuppoſed to have brought to the higheſt degree of perfection of which the art is capable. Hence it is ſo many induſtrious critics have ſpent their lives 'in all ſuch reading as was never read,' as Mr Pope hath it; witneſs the laborious and all-read Dr Zachary Grey, who, to compile thoſe wonderful notes to his Hudibras, muſt have ranſacked not only all the ſtalls, but all the trunks and bandboxes in the world.

Didymus the grammarian was another labourer of this kind. Seneca tells us, 'That he writ four thouſand books; in ſome of which he inquires into the country of Homer; in others, who was the true mother of Æneas; whether Anacreon loved wenching or drinking moſt; whether Sappho was a common proſtitute;' with other ſuch learning, with which

Digitized by Google

which if you had already ſtuffed your head, your ſtudy ought to be how to get it out again.

Tiberias, wiſe as he was in policy, had a great inclination to this kind of knowledge. He purſued it, ſays Suetonius, *uſque ad ineptias & deriſum*, &c. 'to a 'degree of folly and ridicule; for he uſed to aſk the 'grammarians, of whoſe company he was very fond, 'ſuch kind of queſtions as theſe: Who was the mother 'of Hecuba? by what name Achilles paſſed among the 'daughters of Lycomedes? what ſongs the Syrens 'uſed to ſing?' &c.

Cardinal Chigi, who was afterwards Pope Alexander the ſeventh, was a genius of this kind. He proclaimed a public prize for that learned man who could find a Latin word for the word Chaize. He likewiſe ſpent ſeven or eight days in ſearching whether Muſca, a fly, came from Moſca, or Moſca from Muſca. De Retz, from whoſe memoirs I have taken this ſtory, ſays, that he had formerly diſcovered that the Cardinal was *Homme de minutiis*; for that the ſaid cardinal, in a diſcourſe on the ſtudies of his youth, had told De Retz, that he had wrote two years with the ſame pen.

I cannot omit the excellent remark of my author, though not to my preſent purpoſe. 'It is true,' ſays he, 'this is but a trifle; but I have often obſerved, 'that little things afford us truer ſymptoms of the diſ-'poſitions of men, than great ones.'

What but the utmoſt impatience of idleneſs, could prompt men to employ great pains and trouble, and expence too, in making large collections of butterflies, pebbles, and ſuch other wonderful productions; while others, from the ſame impatience, have been no leſs buſy in hunting after monſters of every kind, as if they were at enmity with Nature, and deſirous of expoſing all her errors?

The Greeks have a word for this induſtry. They call it Κενοσπουδία; and oftner Πολυπραγμοσύνη. Neither of which words I can tranſlate without a periphraſis. By both is meant a vain curioſity and diligence in trifles.

I make no doubt that the ſame induſtry would often make a man of a moderate capacity a very com-

Digitized by Google

petent master of some notable science, which hath made him a proficient in some contemptible art, or rather knack. The dexterous juggler might have made a complete mechanic. The same labour, and perhaps the genius, which brings a man to perfection at the game of chess, would make a great proficiency in the mathematics. Many a beau might have been a scholar, if he had consulted books with the same attention with which he hath consulted a looking-glass; and many a fox-hunter might to his great honour have pursued the enemies of his country, with less labour and with less danger than he hath encountered in the pursuit of foxes.

I am almost inclined to think, that if a complete history could be compiled of the eminent works of the Κινοσπουδοι, the triflers, it would manifestly appear, that more labour and pains, more time (I had almost said more genius,) have been employed in the service of folly, than have been employed by the greatest men in inventing and perfecting the most erudite and consummate works of art or wisdom.

I will conclude this paper with a passage from the excellent and truly learned Dr Barrow, which gives a very serious, but just turn to this subject.

'*Aliud agere*, to be impertinently busy, doing that 'which conduceth to no good purpose, is in some re-'spect worse than to do nothing, or to forbear all 'action: for it is a positive abuse of our faculties, and 'trifling with God's gifts; it is throwing away la-'bour and care, things valuable in themselves; it is 'often running out of the way, which is worse than 'standing still! it is a debasing our reason, and declin-'ing from our manhood; nothing being more foolish 'or childish, than to be solicitous and serious about 'trifles; for who are more busy and active than chil-'dren? Who are fuller of thoughts and designs, or 'more eager in prosecution of them than they? but 'all is about ridiculous toys, the shadows of busi-'ness, suggested to them by apish curiosity and imi-'tation. Of such industry we may understand that 'of the preacher, *The labour of the foolish wea-'rieth every one of them*; for that a man soon will be 'weary

Digitized by Google

'weary of that labour which yieldeth no profit or be-
'neficial return.

NUMB. 33. SATURDAY, April 23.

Odi profanum vulgus. HOR.

I hate profane raſcals.

SIR,

IN this very learned and enlightened age, in which authors are almoſt as numerous as bookſellers, I doubt not but your correſpondents furniſh you with a ſufficient quantity of waſte paper. I perhaps may add to the heap; for as men do not always know the motive of their own actions, I may poſſibly be induced by the ſame ſort of vanity as other puny authors have been, to deſire to be in print. But I am very well ſatisfied with you for my judge; and if you ſhould not think proper to take any notice of the hint I have here ſent you, I ſhall conclude that I am an impertinent correſpondent, but that you are a judicious and impartial critic. In my own defence, however, I muſt ſay, that I am never better pleaſed than when I ſee extraordinary abilities employed in the ſupport of His honour and religion, who has ſo bountifully beſtowed them. It is for this reaſon that I wiſh you would take ſome notice of the character, or rather ſtory, here ſent you. In my travels weſtward laſt ſummer, I lay at an inn in Somerſetſhire, remarkable for its pleaſant ſituation and the obliging behaviour of the landlord, who, though a downright ruſtic, had an aukward ſort of politeneſs, ariſing from his good nature, that was very pleaſing, and if I may be allowed the expreſſion, was a ſort of good-breeding undreſt. As I intended to make a pretty long journey the next day, I roſe time enough to behold that glorious luminary the ſun ſet out on his courſe, which, by the bye, is one of the fineſt ſights the eye can behold; and as it is a thing

Digitized by Google

ſeldom ſeen by people of faſhion, unleſs it be at the theatre at Covent-Garden, I could not help laying ſome ſtreſs upon it here. The kitchen in this inn was a very pleaſant room; I therefore called for ſome tea, ſat me in the window, that I might enjoy the proſpect which the country afforded, and a more beautiful one is not in the power of imagination to frame. This houſe was ſituated on the top of a hill; and for two miles below it meadows, enlivened with variety of cattle, and adorned with a greater variety of flowers, firſt caught my ſight. At the bottom of this vale ran a river, which ſeemed to promiſe coolneſs and refreſhment to the thirſty cattle. The eye was next preſented with fields of corn, that made a kind of an aſcent, which was terminated by a wood, at the top of which appeared a verdant hill, ſituated as it were in the clouds, where the ſun was juſt arrived, and peeping o'er the ſummit, which was at this time covered with dew, gilded it over with his rays, and terminated my view in the moſt agreeable manner in the world. In a word, the elegant ſimplicity of every object round me filled my heart with ſuch gratitude, and furniſhed my mind with ſuch pleaſing meditations, as made me thank Heaven I was born. But this ſtate of joyous tranquillity was not of long duration: I had ſcarce begun my breakfaſt, when my ears were ſaluted with a genteel whiſtle, and the noiſe of a pair of ſlippers deſcending the ſtair-caſe; and ſoon after I beheld a contraſt to my former proſpect, being a very beauiſh gentleman, with a hudge laced hat on as big as Piſtol's in the play; a wig ſomewhat diſheveled, and a face which at once gave you a perfect idea of emptineſs, aſſurance, and intemperance. His eyes, which before were ſcarce open, he fixed on me with a ſtare which teſtified ſurpriſe, and his coat was immediately thrown open, to diſplay a very handſome ſecond hand gold-laced waiſtcoat. In one hand he had a pair of ſaddle-bags, and in the other a hanger of mighty ſize, both of which, with a graceful G---d---mn you, he placed upon a chair. Then advanting towards the landlord, who was ſtanding by me, he ſaid, 'By G---, landlord, your wine is damnable 'ſtrong.'

Digitized by Google

'ſtrong. 'I don't know,' replied the landlord; 'it is generally reckoned pretty good, for I have it 'all from London.' 'Pray, who is your wine-mer-'chant?' ſays the man of importance. 'A very 'great man,' ſays the landlord, 'in his way; perhaps 'you may know him, Sir, his name is Kirby.' 'Ah, 'what, honeſt Tom? he and I have cracked many a 'bottle of claret together; he is one of the moſt 'conſiderable merchants in the city; the dog is hel-'liſh poor, damnable poor, for I don't ſuppoſe he is 'worth a farthing more than a hundred thouſand 'pound; only a plumb, that's all; he is to be our 'Lord Mayor next year.' 'I aſk pardon, Sir, that 'is not the man, for our Mr Kirby's name is not 'Thomas, but Richard.' 'Ay,' ſays the gentleman, 'that's his brother; they are partners together.' 'I believe,' ſays the landlord, 'you are out, Sir, for 'that gentleman has no brother.' 'D---n your non-'ſenſe, with you and your outs,' ſays the beau, 'as if 'I ſhould not know better than you country puts; I 'who have lived in London all my lifetime.' 'I aſk 'a thouſand pardons,' ſays the landlord, 'I hope no 'offence, Sir.' 'No, no,' cries the other, 'we 'gentlemen know how to make allowance for your 'country-breeding.' Then ſtepping to the kitchen-door, with an audible voice he called the oſtler, and in a very graceful accent, ſaid, 'D---n your blood, 'you cock-eye'd ſon of a bitch, bring me my boots: 'did not you hear me call?' Then turning to the landlord, ſaid, 'Faith, that Mr What-d'ye-callum, 'the exciſeman, is a damn'd jolly fellow.' 'Yes, 'Sir,' ſays the landlord, 'he is a merryiſh ſort of a 'man.' 'But,' ſays the gentleman, 'as for that 'ſchoolmaſter, he is the queereſt bitch I ever ſaw; 'he looks as if he could not ſay boh to a gooſe.' 'I 'don't know, Sir,' ſays the landlord, 'he is reckoned 'to be a deſperate good ſcollard about us, and the 'gentry likes him vaſtly, for he underſtands the mea-'ſurement of land and timber, knows how to make 'dials, and ſuch things; and for cyphering, few can 'out-do'en.' 'Ay,' ſays the gentleman, 'he does 'look like a cypher indeed, for he did not ſpeak three 'words all laſt night.' The oſtler now produced the boots

Digitized by Google

boots, which the gentleman taking in his hand, and having placed himſelf in the chair, addreſſed in the following ſpeech: 'My good friends, Mr Boots, I 'tell you plainly, that if you plague me ſo damnably 'as you did yeſterday morning, by G--- I'll commit 'you to the flames; ſtamp my vitals, as my Lord 'Huntington ſays in the play.' He then looked full in my face, and aſked the landlord if he had ever been at Drury-Lane playhouſe; which he anſwered in the negative. 'What,' ſays he, 'did you never hear 'talk of Mr Garrick and King Richard?' 'No, Sir,' ſays the landlord. 'By G---' ſays the gentleman, 'he is the cleverest fellow in England.' He then ſpouted a ſpeech out of King Richard, which begins, "Give me an horſe, &c.' There,' ſays he, 'that, 'that is juſt like Mr Garrick.' Having pleaſed himſelf vaſtly with this performance, he ſhook the landlord by the hand with great good humour, and ſaid, 'By G---, you ſeem to be an honeſt fellow, and 'good blood; if you'll come and ſee me in London, 'I'll give you your ſkin full of wine, and treat you 'with a play and a whore every night you ſtay. I'll 'ſhew you how it is to live, my boy. But here, 'bring me ſome paper, my girl; come, let's have 'one of your love-letters, to air my boots.' Upon which the landlord preſented him with a piece of an old news-paper. 'D---n you,' ſays the gent. 'this is 'not half enough; have you never a Bible or Com-'mon-prayer-book in the houſe? half a dozen chap-'ters of Geneſis, with a few prayers, make an excel-'lent fire in a pair of boots.' 'Oh! Lord forgive 'you,' ſays the landlord, 'ſure you would not burn 'ſuch books as thoſe.' 'No!' cries the ſpark, 'where 'was you born? go into a ſhop of London, and buy 'ſome butter, or a quartern of tea, and then you'll 'ſee what uſe is made of theſe books.' 'Ay,' ſays the landlord, 'we have a ſaying here in our coun-'try, that 'tis as ſure as the devil is in London, 'and if he was not there, they could not be ſo 'wicked as they be.' Here a country fellow, who had been ſtanding up in one corner of the kitchen, eating of cold bacon and beans, and who, I obſerved, trembled

Digitized by Google

trembled at every oath this ſparke ſwore, took his diſh and pot, and marched out of the kitchen, fearing, as I afterwards learnt, that the houſe would fall down about his ears; 'for he was ſure,' he ſaid, 'that man 'in the gold-laced hat was the devil.' The young ſpark, having now diſplayed all his wit and humour, and exerted his talents to the utmoſt, thought he had ſufficiently recommended himſelf to my favour, and convinced me he was a gentleman. He therefore with an air addreſſed himſelf to me, and aſked me, which way I was travelling? To which I gave him no anſwer. He then exalted his voice; but at my continuing ſilent, he aſked the landlord if I was deaf? Upon which the landlord told him he did not believe the gentleman was dunch, for that he talked very well juſt now. The man of wit whiſpered in the landlord's ear, and ſaid, 'I ſuppoſe he is either a parſon or a fool.' He then drank a dram, obſerving that a man ſhould not cool too faſt; paid ſix-pence more than his reckoning, called for his horſe, gave the oſtler a ſhilling, and galloped out of the inn, thoroughly ſatisfied that we all agreed with him in thinking him a clever fellow, and a man of great importance. The landlord ſmiling, took up his money, and ſaid he was a comical gentleman, but that it was a thouſand pities he ſwore ſo much; if it was not for that, he was a very good cuſtomer, and as generous as a prince, for that the night before, he had treated every body in the houſe. I then aſked him, if he knew that comical gentleman as he called him? 'No really, Sir,' ſaid the landlord, 'though a gentleman was ſaying laſt night, that he 'was a ſort of rider, or ride-out to a linen-draper at 'London.' This, Mr Cenſor, I have ſince found to be true; for having occaſion to buy ſome cloth, I went laſt week to a linen-draper's ſhop, in which I found a young fellow, whoſe decent behaviour and plain dreſs ſhewed he was a tradeſman. Upon looking full in his face, I thought I had ſeen it before; nor was it long before I recollected where it was, and that this was the ſame beau I had met with in Somerſetſhire. The difference in the ſame man in London where he was known, and in the country where he

was

Digitized by Google

was a ſtranger, was beyond expreſſion; and, was it not impertinent to make obſervations to you, I could enlarge upon this ſort of behaviour; for I am firmly of opinion, that there is neither ſpirit nor good ſenſe in oaths, nor any wit or humour in blaſphemy. But as vulgar errors require an abler pen than mine to correct them, I ſhall leave that taſk to you, and am, Sir,

Your humble ſervant,

R. S.

NUMB. 34. TUESDAY, April 28.

Natio comœda eſt. JUVENAL.

We are a nation of players.

IT is the advice of Solomon, to train up a child in the way he ſhould go; and this, in the opinion of Quinctilian, can never be undertaken too early. He indeed begins his Inſtitution even with the very nurſe.

The wiſe man here very plainly ſuppoſes a previous determination in the parent in what he intends his child ſhall go: for without having fixed this with certainty, it will be impoſſible for any man to fulfil the precept.

Now all the ways of life, in which, in this country, men walk themſelves, and in which they ſo manifeſtly intend to train their children, ſeem to me to be reducible to two, *viz.* the way of ſpending an eſtate, and the way of getting one. Theſe may, indeed, in this ſenſe, be called the two great high roads in this kingdom.

As to the former, it is much the leſs beaten and frequented track, as it requires a certain viaticum, obvious to the reader, which is not in the poſſeſſion of every one: in this way, therefore, the eldeſt ſons of great families, and heirs of great eſtates, can only be trained. The methods of training here, are no more

Digitized by Google

more than twofold, both very eaſy and appoſite; it is therefore no wonder that they are both purſued with very little deviation by almoſt every parent. The one, which is univerſally practiſed in the country, contains very few rules, and theſe extremely ſimple; ſuch as drinking, racing, cock-fighting, hunting, with other rural exerciſes. The other, which is proper to the town, and indeed to the higher people, is ſomewhat more complex. This includes dancing, fencing, whoring, gaming, travelling, dreſſing, French connoiſſeurſhip, and perhaps two or three other leſs material articles.

But the great and difficult point is that of training youth in the other great road, namely, in the way to get an eſtate. Here, as in our journey over vaſt and wide plains, the many different tracts are apt to beget uncertainty and confuſion, and we are often extremely puzzled which of theſe to chuſe for ourſelves, and which to recommend to our children.

The moſt beaten tracts in this road are thoſe of the profeſſions, ſuch as the church, the law, the army, *&c.* In ſome one of theſe, the younger children of the nobility and gentry have uſually been trained, often with very ill ſucceſs; ariſing ſometimes from a partial opinion of the talents of the child, and more often from flattering ourſelves with hopes of more intereſt with the great than we have really had.

To all theſe profeſſions many things may be objected, as we ſhall preſently ſee, when we compare them with a path in life, which I am about to recommend to my reader, and which we ſhall find clear from moſt of the objections that may be raiſed againſt any other.

Without further preface, the way of life which I mean to recommend, is that of the ſtage, in which I ſhall hope, for the future, to ſee ſeveral of our young nobility and gentry trained up, and particularly thoſe of the moſt promiſing parts.

In the *firſt* place then, the ſtage at preſent promiſes a much better proviſion than any of the profeſſions: for though perhaps it is true that there are in the church, the law, the ſtate, the army, *&c.* ſome few poſts

Digitized by Google

poſts which yield the poſſeſſors greater profit than is to be acquired on the ſtage; yet theſe bear no proportion to the infinite numbers who are trained in the ſeveral profeſſions, and who almoſt literally ſtarve. The income of an actor of any rank, is from ſix to twelve hundred a-year; whereas, that of two-thirds of the gentlemen of the army is conſiderably under one hundred; the income of nine-tenths of the clergy is leſs than fifty pounds a-year; and the profits in the law, to ninety-nine in a hundred, amount not to a ſingle ſhilling.

And as for thoſe few poſts of great emolument, upon which we all caſt our eyes, as the adventurers in a lottery do on the few great prizes, if we impartially examine our own abilities, how few of us ſhall dare to aſpire ſo high? whereas, on the ſtage, ſcarce any abilities are required, and we ſee men, whom nobody allows to deſerve the name of actors, enjoying ſalaries of three, four, and five hundred a-year.

Again, if we conſider the great pains and time, the head-achs, and the heart-achs, which lead up to the top of either the army or the law;

Qui ſtudet optatum curſu contingere metam,
Multa tulit, fecitque puer;

this conſideration will ſufficiently diſcourage our attempts, eſpecially when on the other hand we may on the ſtage leap all at once into eminence; and if we expect no more than four or five hundred pounds for the firſt year of our acting, our demands will be thought modeſt.

And further, in any of the profeſſions, all our abilities will be thrown away, and all our time and labour loſt, unleſs we have other ingredients to recommend us. Unleſs we have ſome powerful friend or relation, or ſome beautiful wife or ſiſter, we ſhall never procure an opportunity of ſhewing the world what we are; whereas, to the ſtage no intereſt is neceſſary to introduce you. The publiſhing the name of a gentleman who never acted before in the play-bills, will fill the houſe as ſurely as if he propoſed to get into a bottle, and

Digitized by Google

and no manager is ashamed of putting you at first into any of his principal parts.

And if we view this in the light of ambition, the stage will have no less advantage over the professions. To personate a great character three hours in the twenty-four, is a matter of more consequence than it is generally esteemed. The world itself is commonly called a stage; and, in the eye of the greatest philosophers, the actions in both appear to be equally real, and of equal consequence. Where then is the mighty difference between personating a great man on the great theatre, or on the less? In both cases we often assume that character when it doth not really belong to us; and a very indifferent player acts it sometimes better than his Right Honourable brother, and with ten thousand times the applause.

It was not therefore without reason that our worthy Laureat, in the excellent apology for his life, gave thanks to Providence that he did not in his youth betake himself either to the gown or the sword. Wise, indeed, as well as happy was his choice, as many of his cotemporaries, whose ill stars led them to the way of those professions, had the question been put to them on their death-bed, must have acknowledged. How many of these his cotemporaries, who have professed the laws or religion of their country; how many others, who have fought its battles, after an obscure and wretched life of want and misery, have bequeathed their families to the stalls and the streets?

That the reverse hath been the fate of this gentleman, I need not mention, and am pleased to think. And yet in the days of his acting, nothing like to the present encouragement was given on the stage. Mrs Oldfield herself (as I have been informed) had not half the theatrical income of our present principal actresses. To what greater height it may rise, I know not; but from the present flourishing condition of the stage, and from the proportionable decline of the learned professions, I think it may be prophesied, that it will be as common hereafter to say, that such a particular estate was got by the stage, as it was formerly to see great houses rise by the law.

Digitized by Google

NUMB. 35. SATURDAY, May 2.

Ἀπόλοιτο πρῶτος αὐτὸς
Ὁ τὸν ἄργυρον φιλήσας.
Διὰ τοῦτον οὐκ ἀδελφὸς,
Διὰ τοῦτον οὐ τοκῆες·
Πόλεμοι, φόνοι δι' αὐτόν. ANACREON.

[See the tranſlation afterwards.]

TO

Sir ALEXANDER DRAWCANSIR.

Bedlam, April 1, 1752.

SIR,

I MAKE no queſtion but, before you have read half through my letter, you will be ſurpriſed at its being dated as above; and may perhaps agree with the concluſion which I have made long ago, that this place is ſet apart by the Engliſh for the confinement of all thoſe who have more ſenſe than the reſt of their countrymen.

However that be, I ſhall begin with telling you very bluntly, that, if you really intend to bring about any reformation in this kingdom, you will certainly miſs your end, and for this ſimple reaſon, becauſe you are abſolutely miſtaken in the means.

Phyſicians affirm, that before any vicious habits can be repaired in the natural conſtitution, it is neceſſary to know and to remove their cauſe. The ſame holds true in the political. Without this in both inſtances we may poſſibly patch up and palliate, but never can effectually cure.

Now, Sir, give me leave to ſay, you do not appear to me to have in the leaſt gueſſed at the true ſource of all our political evils; neither do you ſeem to be in any likelihood of ever acquiring even a glimpſe of any ſuch

Digitized by Google

such knowledge. It is no wonder, therefore, that, instead of pursuing the true method of cure, you should more than once, in the course of your lucubrations, have thrown out hints which would actually tend to heighten the disease.

Know then, Sir, that it is I alone who have penetrated to the very bottom of all the evil. With infinite pains and study I have discovered the certain cause of all that national corruption, luxury, and immorality, which have polluted our morals; and of consequence it is I alone who am capable of prescribing the cure.

But when I lay this sole claim to such discovery, I would be understood to have respect only to the moderns. To the philosophers among the antients, and to some of their poets, I am well apprised that this invaluable secret was well known, as I could prove by numberless quotations. It occurs indeed so very often in their works, that I am not a little surprised how it came to escape the observation of a gentleman who seems to have been so conversant with those illustrious lamps of real knowledge and learning.

Without further preface then, what is the true fountain of that complication of political diseases which infests this nation, but money? Money! which, as the Greek poet says in my motto, 'may he perish 'that first invented; for this it is which destroys the 'relation of brother and of parent, and which introduces wars and every kind of bloodshed into the 'world.'

If this be granted, as it surely must, where is the remedy? Is it not, to remove the fatal cause, by extirpating this poisonous metal, this Pandora's box, out of the nation?

But though the advantages arising from this abolition, are, in my opinion, extremely self-evident; yet as they may possibly not strike with equal force upon the minds of others, since no man hath in my memory given the least obscure hint of such a project, I shall mention some few of the greatest; and, to avoid a common-place of those authors I have above men-

Digitized by Google

tioned, I shall confine myself to such instances as particularly affect this country.

First, then, It would effectually put an end to all that corruption which every man almost complains of, and of which every man almost partakes; for by these means those contentions which have begun and continued this corruption, and which always will continue it, will immediately subside. The struggle will be then, not who shall serve their country in great and difficult posts and employments; but who shall be excused from serving it; and the people being left to themselves, will almost fix upon the most capable, who, by the fundamental laws of our constitution, will be compelled to enter into their service. Thus a certain method called election, which is of very singular use in a nation of freedom, will be again revived; otherwise it may possibly sink only to a name.

For though I admit it possible, that bare ambition may incite some persons to attempt employments for which they are utterly unfit, yet the very powers of bribery would be thus taken away, or would be rendered so public, that it would then be easily within the power of law to suppress it: for no man could distribute a herd of cattle, or a flock of sheep in private.

Secondly, This method would effectually put a stop to luxury, or would reduce it to that which was the luxury of our ancestors, and which may more properly be called hospitality.

Thirdly, It would be of the highest advantage to trade, for it would prevent our dealing any longer with those bloodsucking nations, who take not our own commodities in barter for theirs. This kind of traffic, I might perhaps be expected to speak more favourably of, as it so plainly tends to remove the evil of which I complain, and in process of time would possibly effect that excellent purpose. But I must observe, that, however advantageous the end may be, the means are not so advisable; nay, if we suffer any money to remain among us, I think their may be good reasons shewed, why we should retain as much as we can. It is often indeed mischievous to do that by halves,

Digitized by Google

halves, which it would be highly useful to do effectually: for this must certainly be allowed, that, while money is permitted to be the representative of all things, as it is at present, none but a nation of idiots would constantly put it into the hands of their enemies.

Fourthly, It would restore certain excellent things, such as piety, virtue, honour, goodness, learning, &c. all which are totally abolished by money, or so counterfeited by it, that no one can tell the true from the false: the word Rich indeed is at present considered, to signify them all; but of this enough may be found in the old philosophers and poets, whom I have before mentioned.

Again, how desirous would the lawyers be to put a speedy end to a suit, or the physical people to a disease, if once my scheme should take place? It may be said, indeed, that they would then carry away men's goods and chattels, as they do now from those who have no money. But I answer, that this is done in order to convert them into money; for otherwise they would hardly admit the ragged and lousy bed of a wretch into their houses.

For the same reason my scheme would effectually put an end to all robberies; a matter which seems so much to puzzle the legislature: for though our goods are sometimes stolen as well as our money, yet the former are only taken in order to convert them into the latter. It is not the use, but the value of a watch, snuff-box, or ring, that is considered by the robber, who always thinks with Hudibras,

'What is the worth of any thing,
'But so much money as 'twill bring?'

I shall add but one particular more; which is, that my scheme would most certainly provide for the poor, and that by an infallible (perhaps the only infallible) method, by removing the rich. Where there are no rich, there will of consequence be found no poor: for Providence hath in a wonderful manner provided in

Digitized by Google

every country a plentiful ſubſiſtence for all its inhabitants; and where none abound, none can want.

Having long meditated on this excellent ſcheme, ſo long that, if you will believe ſome people, I have cracked my brain, I was reſolved to acquit myſelf, and to ſhew, by way of example, how fully I was convinced of the truth of my principles. I therefore converted an eſtate of three hundred pounds a-year into money; of this I put a competent ſum in my pocket, and took my next heir with me upon the Thames, where I began to unload my pockets into the water. But I had ſcarce diſcharged three handfuls, before my heir ſeized me, and, with the aſſiſtance of the waterman, conveyed me back to ſhore. I was for a day ſecured in an apartment of my own houſe; and thence the next morning, by a conſpiracy among my relations, brought hither, where I am like to remain, till the reſt of mankind return to their ſenſes.

I am, SIR,

Your moſt obedient ſervant,

MISARGURUS.

NUMB. 37. SATURDAY, May 9.

Scilicet in vulgus manent exampla regentum.

CLAUDIAN.

The creatures *will endeavour to ape their betters.*

THERE are many phraſes that cuſtom renders familiar to our ears, which, when looked into, and cloſely examined, will appear extremely ſtrange, and of which it muſt greatly puzzle a very learned etymologiſt to account for the original.

Of this ſort is the term, *People of faſhion;* an expreſſion of ſuch very common uſe, and ſo univerſally underſtood, that it is entirely needleſs to ſet down here what is meant by it: but how it firſt acquired its preſent meaning, and became a title of honour and diſtinction,

Digitized by Google

ſtinction, is a point, I apprehend, of no ſmall difficulty to determine.

I have, on this occaſion, conſulted ſeveral of my friends, who are well ſkilled in etymology. One of theſe traces the word Faſhion through the French language up to the Latin. He brings it from the verb *facio*, which, among other things, ſignifies *to do*. Hence he ſuppoſes *people of faſhion*, according to the old derivation of *lucus a non lucendo*, to be ſpoken of thoſe who do nothing. But this is too general, and would include all the beggars in the nation.

Another carries the original no farther than the French word *façon*, which is often uſed to ſignify affectation. This likewiſe will extend too far, and will comprehend attorney's clerks, apprentices, milliners, mantuamakers, and an infinite number of the lower people.

A third will bring Faſhion from Φάσις. This in the genitive plural makes Φάσιων, which in Engliſh is the very word. According to him, by people of faſhion, are meant people whoſe eſſence conſiſteth in appearances, and who, while they ſeem to be ſomething, are really nothing.

But though I am well appriſed that much may be ſaid to ſupport this derivation, there is a fourth opinion, which, to ſpeak in the proper language, hath yet a more ſmiling aſpect. This ſuppoſes the word Faſhion to be a corruption from Faſcination, and that theſe people were formerly believed by the vulgar to be a kind of conjurers, and to poſſeſs a ſpecies of the black art.

In ſupport of this opinion, my friend urges the uſe which theſe people have always made of the word Circle, and the pretence to be incloſed in a certain circle, like ſo many conjurers, and by ſuch means to keep the vulgar at a diſtance from them.

To this purpoſe likewiſe he quotes the phraſes, 'a 'polite circle, the circle of one's acquaintance, people 'that live within a certain circle,' and many others. From all which he infers, that in thoſe dark and ignorant ages, when conjurers were held in more eſtimation than they are at preſent, the credulous vulgar believed

Digitized by Google

believed these people to be of the number, and consequently called them *people of fascination*, which hath been since corrupted into *people of fashion*.

However whimsical this opinion may seem, or however far-fetched the derivation may sound to those who have not much considered the barbarous corruption of language, I must observe in its favour, how difficult it is, by any other method, to account not only for that odd phrase, 'people of fashion;' but likewise for that circle within which those people have always affected to live.

Even now, when conjurers have been long laughed out of the world, the pretence to the circle is nevertheless maintained; and within the circle the people of fascination do actually insist upon living at this day.

It is moreover extremely pleasant to observe what wonderful care these people take to preserve their circle safe and inviolate, and with how jealous an eye they guard against any intrusion of those whom they are pleased to call the vulgar; who are, on the other hand, as vigilant to watch, and as active to improve every opportunity of invading this circle, and break into it.

Within the memory of many now living, the circle of the people of fascination included the whole parish of Covent-garden, and great part of St Giles's in the fields; but here the enemy broke in, and the circle was presently contracted to Leicester-Fields, and Golden-Square. Hence the people of fashion again retreated before the foe to Hanover-Square; whence they were once more driven to Grosvenor-Square, and even beyond it, and that with such precipitation, that had they not been stopped by the walls of Hyde-Park, it is more than probable they would by this time have arrived at Kensington.

In many other instances we may remark the same flight of these people, and the same pursuit of their enemies. They first contrived a certain vehicle called a hackney-coach, to avoid the approach of the foe in the open streets. Hence they were soon routed, and obliged to take shelter in coaches of their own. Nor did this protect them long. The enemy likewise in great

Digitized by Google

great numbers mounted into the ſame armed vehicles *. The people of faſcination then betook themſelves to chairs; in which their exempt privileges being again invaded, I am informed that ſeveral ladies of quality have beſpoke a kind of couch ſomewhat like the Lectica of the Romans; in which they are next winter to be carried through the ſtreets upon men's ſhoulders.

The reader will be pleaſed to obſerve, that, beſide the local circle which I have deſcribed above, there is an imaginary or figurative one, which is invaded by every imitation of the vulgar.

Thus thoſe people of faſcination, or, if they like it better, of faſhion, who found it convenient to remain ſtill in coaches, obſerving that ſeveral of the enemy had lately exhibited arms on their vehicles, by which means thoſe ornaments became vulgar and common, immediately ordered their own arms to be blotted out, and a cypher ſubſtituted in their room; perhaps cunningly contriving to repreſent themſelves inſtead of their anceſtors.

Numberleſs are the devices made uſe of by the people of faſhion of both ſexes, to avoid the purſuit of the vulgar, and to preſerve the purity of the circle. Sometimes the perriwig covers the whole beau, and he peeps forth from the midſt like an owl in an ivy-buſh; at other times, his ears ſtand up behind half a dozen hairs, and give you the idea of a different animal. Sometimes a large black bag, with wings ſpread as broad as a raven's, adorns his back; at other times, a little lank ſilk appears, like a dead black-bird, in his neck. To-day he borrows the tail of a rat, and to-morrow that of a monkey; for he will transform himſelf into the likeneſs of the vileſt animal, to avoid the reſemblance of his own ſpecies.

Nor are the ladies leſs watchful of the enemy's motions, or leſs anxious to avoid them. What hoods and hats and caps and coifs have fallen a ſacrifice in this purſuit! Within my memory the ladies of the circle covered their lovely necks with a cloak; this being

* Rather coat of arms.

routed

Digitized by Google

routed by the enemy, was exchanged for the manteel; this again was ſucceeded by the pelorine; the pelorine by the neckatee; the neckatee by the capuchine; which hath now ſtood its ground a long time, but not without various changes of colour, ſhape, ornaments, *&c.*

And here I muſt not paſs by the many admirable arts made uſe of by theſe ladies, to deceive and dodge their imitators; when they are hunted out in any favourite mode, the method is to lay it by for a time, and then to reſume it again all at once, when the enemy leaſt expect it. Thus patches appear and diſappear ſeveral times in a ſeaſon. I have myſelf ſeen the enemy in the pit, with faces all overſpotted like a leopard, when the circle in the boxes have, with a conſcious triumph, diſplayed their native alabaſter, without a ſimple blemiſh, though they had a few evenings before worn a thouſand: within a month afterwards, the leopards have appeared in the boxes, to the great mortification of the fair faces in the pit.

In the ſame manner the ruff, after a long diſcontinuance, ſome time ſince began to revive in the circle, and advanced downwards, till it almoſt met the tucker. But no ſooner did the enemy purſue, than it vaniſhed all at once, and the boxes became a collection of little hills of ſnow, extremely delightful to the eyes of every beholder.

Of all the articles of diſtinction the hoop hath ſtood the longeſt, and with the moſt obſtinate reſiſtance. Inſtead of giving way, this, the more it hath been puſhed, hath increaſed the more; till the enemy hath been compelled to give over the purſuit from mere neceſſity; it being found impoſſible to convey ſeven yards of hoop into a hackney-coach, or to ſlide with it behind a counter.

But as I have mentioned ſome of the arts of the circle, it would not be fair to be ſilent as to thoſe of the enemy, among whom a certain citizen's wife diſtinguiſhed herſelf very remarkably, and appeared long in the very top of the mode. It was at laſt however diſcovered that ſhe uſed a very unfair practice, and kept

Digitized by Google

kept a private correſpondence with one of thoſe milliners who were intruſted with all the ſecrets of the circle.

NUMB. 42. TUESDAY, May 26.

------*Me literulas ſtulti docuere parentes.* MART.

My father was a fool,
When he ſent me to ſchool.

Mr CENSOR,

IT hath been a common obſervation, 'That great ſcholars know nothing of the world.' The reaſon of this is not, as generally it is imagined, that the Greek and Latin languages have a natural tendency to vitiate the human underſtanding; but in ſolemn truth, gentlemen who obtain an early acquaintance with the manners and cuſtoms of the ancients, are too apt to form their ideas of their own times, on the patterns of ages which bear not the leaſt reſemblance to them. Hence they have fallen into the greateſt errors and abſurdities; and hence, I ſuppoſe, was derived the obſervation above-mentioned.

Numberleſs are the inſtances which may be produced of theſe errors of the literati: ſo many indeed, that I have often thought there is no leſs difference between thoſe nations of the world which are drawn from letters, and thoſe which are drawn from men, than there is between the ideas of the human complexion, which are conceived by one in perfect health, and one in the jaundice.

Let us ſuppoſe a man poſſeſſed of this jaundice of literature, conveyed into the levees of the great. What notion will he be likely to entertain of the ſeveral perſons who compoſe that illuſtrious aſſembly, from their behaviour? How will he be puzzled when he is told that he hath before his eyes a number of freemen? How much more will he be amazed, when he hears that all the ſervility he there beholds, ariſes only

Digitized by Google

only from an eager desire of being permitted to serve the public?

Again, convey the same gentleman to a hunting-match, a horse-race, or any other meeting of patriots: will he not immediately conclude from all the roaring and ranting, the hollowing and huzzaing, the gaming and drinking, which he will there observe, that he is actually present at the orgia of Bacchus, or the celebration of some such festival? How then will he be astonished to find that he is in the company of a sett of honest fellows, who are the guardians of liberty, and are actually getting drunk in the service of their country!

Introduce him next to a drum or a rout, and if the blaze of beauty doth not blind him to any other contemplation, how greatly superior will he think the British ladies to all those of Greece and Rome----at their needles? When he views all the excellent decorations of art which set off the persons of his fair countrywomen, how will he despise all the compliments paid heretofore to the personages of the Greek and Roman ladies of quality, who claimed a preference over each other from their superior skill in handling their needles! But what must be his amazement, when he is assured that not one of these ladies ever handled any such instrument; that all the ornaments of the best dressed woman there are owing to the handy-work of others; and that the whole business of the lives of all present, is only to toss about from the one to the other certain pieces of painted paper, being a pastime common to grown persons and children; with this difference only, that the former play for the higher wagers!

What idea can we suppose such a person could conceive of the word Beau; and if he could have no adequate notion of the word, much less would he be able to obtain any such notion of the thing! Should he behold a little dapper effeminate spark, carried through the sunshine in a soft machine by two labourers; his body dressed in all the tinsel which serves to trick up a harlot, and his hair appearing to have been decked by the same tire-woman with hers; would such

Digitized by Google

ſuch a ſight as this recall to the mind of our learned friend, any image of a Greek or Roman ſoldier? or could he be eaſily perſuaded, that the inſect before his eyes was a military commander, in rank a centurion, or perhaps a tribune?

In one particular, and in one alone, it is poſſible he might form a true judgment. The many eulogiums on the chaſtity of the antient Spartan and Roman dames, and on the extraordinary modeſty of their young females of rank, muſt give him a perfect idea of our preſent ladies of faſhion.

With this ſingle exception, I think I may aver, that a ſcholar, when he firſt comes to this town from the univerſity, comes among a ſett of people, as entirely unknown to him, and of whom he hath no more heard or read, than if he was to be at once tranſlated into one of the planets; the world in the town and that in the moon being equally ſtrange to him, and equally unintelligible.

How wiſe therefore is the conduct of the preſent age, in laying aſide that fooliſh cuſtom of our anceſtors, who uſed to throw away many of the moſt precious years of their ſons lives by confining them to ſchools and univerſities; where what they learned, was ſo far from being of any uſe to them upon their coming into the world, as it is called, that it ſerved only to puzzle and miſlead them. They were, indeed, obliged to unlearn all that had been taught them, before they could acquire that uſeful knowledge mentioned in the beginning of my paper.

Whereas, by the preſent method of bringing youth to town, about the age of fifteen or ſixteen, and entering them immediately in thoſe ſeveral ſchools where the knowledge of the world is taught; ſuch as the play-houſes, gaming-houſes, and bawdy-houſes; a young gentleman of any tolerable docility becomes, at the age of eighteen, a perfect maſter of all the knowledge of the world at home; and it is then a proper time for him to ſet out on his travels into foreign parts, and to make himſelf acquainted with the world abroad.---This completes his education; and he returns at one-and-twenty, a moſt accompliſhed fine

Digitized by Google

gentleman; having visited all the principal courts of Europe, and become versed in all their fashions, at a season of life when our dull forefathers knew nothing of those foreign people but from history, nor even of their countries but from geography.

It was my misfortune however to have a father of the antique way of thinking; by which means, I lost the best part of my youth in turning over those books, in which I have said there is little useful to be learned. I remember a passage out of Horace, who is the best of them, and who seems to be very particularly a favourite of yours. His words are these,

Vitæ summa brevis
Spem nos vetat inchoare longam.

Which may be thus rendered after your paraphrastical manner: 'The shortness of life affords no time for 'a tedious education.' How many indeed of my own acquaintance have I known to die of old age at twenty-five! so that by the ancient method of educating our sons at schools and universities, a great part of them will be in danger of going out of the world before they know any thing of it.

'Life (says Mr Pope) can little more supply,
'Than just to look about us, and to die.'

Is it not therefore the duty of a father to give his son an opportunity of looking about him as soon as he can?

I am, SIR,

Your humble servant,

TOM TELLTRUTH.

NUMB.

Digitized by Google

NUMB. 44. TUESDAY, June 2.

-------O bone, ne te
Fruſtrere, inſanis et tu.----------HOR.

My good friend, do not deceive thyſelf; for with all thy charity, thou alſo art a ſilly fellow.

I HAVE in a former paper endeavoured to ſhew that a rich man without charity is a rogue; and perhaps it would be no difficult matter to prove that he is alſo a fool. If a man, who doth not know his true intereſt, may be thought to deſerve that appellation; in what light ſhall we behold a Chriſtian, who neglects the cultivation of a virtue which is in ſcripture ſaid *to waſh away our ſins*, and without which all his other good deeds cannot render him acceptable in the ſight of his Creator and Redeemer?

Even in this world, it is ſurely much too narrow a view to confine a man's intereſt merely to that which loads his coffers. To purſue that which is moſt capable of giving him happineſs, is indeed the inteſeſt of every man; and there are many who find great pleaſure in emptying their purſes with this view, to one who hath no other ſatisfaction than in filling it. Now what can give greater happineſs to a good mind, than the reflection on having relieved the miſery, or contributed to the well-being, of his fellow-creature. It was a noble ſentiment of the worthy Mr Thomas Firmin, 'That to relieve the poor, and provide work 'and ſubſiſtence for them, gave to him the ſame 'pleaſure, as magnificent buildings, pleaſant walks, 'well-cultivated orchards and gardens, the jollity of 'muſic and wine, or the charms of love and ſtudy, 'gave to others.' This is recorded in the life of a plain citizen of London, and it as well deſerves to be quoted, as any one apophthegm that is to be found in all the works of Plutarch.

Digitized by Google

A Chriſtian, therefore, or a good man, though no Chriſtian, who is void of charity, is ignorant of his own intereſt, and may with great propriety be called a ſilly fellow. Nay, if we will believe all the great writers whom I cited in my former paper, to which I might add Plato and many more, a mere human being, who places all his happineſs in ſelfiſh conſiderations, without any relative virtues, any regard to the good of others is in plain truth a downright fool.

I have been encouraged to treat the want of charity with the more freedom, as I am certain of giving little offence to any of my readers by ſo doing. Charity is in fact the very characteriſtic of this nation at this time.---I believe we may challenge the whole world to parallel the examples which we have of late given of this ſenſible, this noble, this Chriſtian virtue.

We cannot therefore ſurely be arraigned of folly, from the want of charity; but is our wiſdom altogether as apparent in the manner of exerting it? I am afraid, the true anſwer here would not be ſo much to the advantage. Are our private donations generally directed by our judgment, to thoſe who are the propereſt objects? Do not vanity, whim, and weakneſs, too often draw our purſe-ſtrings? Do we not ſometimes give becauſe it is the faſhion, and ſometimes becauſe we cannot long reſiſt importunity? May not our charity be often termed extravagance or folly; nay, is it not often vicious and apparently tending to the increaſe and encouragement of idle and diſſolute perſons?

It would be almoſt endleſs to pretend to be particular on this head. I ſhall mention therefore only one inſtance, namely, the giving our money to common beggars. This kind of Bounty is a crime againſt the public. It is aſſiſting in the continuance and promotion of a nuſance. Our wiſe anceſtors prohibited it by a law, which would probably have remained in force and uſe to this day, had not the legiſlature conceived, that, after the ſevere penalties which have been ſince inflicted on beggars, none would have the boldneſs to become ſuch; and that, after the ſufficient legal proviſion which hath been made for the poor, no perſons would

Digitized by Google

would have so little regard, either to common sense or to the public, as to relieve them.

But instead of staying to argue with such people, I shall hasten to the other branch of charity, which is of a public nature; of which there are many species in this kingdom.

The origin of this kind of charity, was no better than priestcraft and superstition. When men began to perceive the near approach of that great enemy of human nature, who was to deprive them of all their ill-gotten possessions, and not only so, but might, as they apprehended, deliver them into the hands of an Almighty justice, to punish them for all those knavish arts, by which these possessions were acquired; the priest stept in, took advantage of the terrors of their consciences, and persuaded them, that by consigning over a great part (sometimes the whole) of their acquisitions to the use of the church, a pardon for all kind of villainy was sure to be obtained.

In this attempt, the priest found but little difficulty, when he had to do with a mind tainted with superstition, and weakened with disease; especially when he could back all his other arguments with one truth at least, namely---Give us that *which you can by no possible means keep any longer yourself.*

Thus the unwilling will, as Dr Barrow pleasantly calls it, was at last signed. The fruits of fraud and rapine were trusted to the use of the church, and the greatest rascals died very good saints, and their memories were consecrated to honour and good example.

How notably these attempts succeeded, is well known to all who are versed in our law or our history. So common was it for men to expiate their crimes in this manner; and to finish all their other robberies, by robbing their heirs; that, had not the legislature often and stoutly interfered in crushing these superstitious, or (as they were called) charitable uses, they seemed to have bid fair for swallowing up the whole property of the nation.

In process of time, however, the lawyer came to the assistance of the priest (for, like the devil, he is

Digitized by Google

always ready at hand when called for) and formed a diſtinction between the ſuperſtitious and charitable uſe. Henceforward, inſtead of robbing their relations for the uſe of the church, a method was deviſed of robbing them for the uſe of the poor. Hence poor-houſes, alms-houſes, colleges and hoſpitals began to preſent themſelves to the view of all travellers, being always ſituated in the moſt public places, and bearing the name and title of the generous founder in vaſt capital letters; a kind of KTHMA ES AEI, a monument of his glory to all generations.

Thus we ſee the foundation of this kind of charity, and a very ſtrong one it is, being indeed no other than fear and vanity, the two ſtrongeſt paſſions which are to be found in human nature.

It may be thought, perhaps, that I have omitted a third which ſome may imagine to be the ſtrongeſt, and greateſt of all, and this is benevolence, or the love of doing good: but that theſe charitable legacies have no ſuch motive, appears to me from the following conſiderations.

Firſt, If a man was poſſeſſed of real benevolence, and had (as he muſt then have) a delight in doing good, he would no more defer the enjoyment of this ſatisfaction to his death-bed, than the ambitious, the luxurious, or the vain, would wait till that period, for the gratification of their ſeveral paſſions.

Secondly, If the legacy be, as it often is, the firſt charitable donation of any conſequence, I can never allow it poſſible to ariſe from benevolence; for he who hath no compaſſion for the diſtreſſes of his neighbours whom he hath ſeen, how ſhould he have any pity for the wants of poſterity which he will never ſee?

Thirdly, If the legacy be, as is likewiſe very common, to the injury of his family, or to the diſappointment of his own friends in want, this is a certain proof, that his motive is not benevolence; for he who loves not his own friends and relations, moſt certainly loves no other perſon.

Laſtly, If a man hath lived any time in the world, he muſt have obſerved ſuch horrid and notorious abuſes

Digitized by Google

abuſes of all public charities, that he muſt be convinced (with a very few exceptions) that he will do no manner of good by contributing to them. Some, indeed, are ſo very wretchedly contrived in their inſtitution, that they ſeem not to have had the public utility in their view, but to have been mere jobs *ab initio*. Such are all hoſpitals whatever, where it is a matter of favour to get a patient admitted, and where the forms of admiſſion are ſo troubleſome and tedious, that the propereſt objects (thoſe I mean, who are moſt wretched and friendleſs) may as well aſpire at a place at court, as at a place in the hoſpital.

From what I have here advanced, I know I have rendered myſelf liable to be repreſented by malice and ignorance as an enemy to all public charity. I hope to obviate this opinion effectually in a future paper, in which I ſhall endeavour to point out who are really the objects of our benevolence, as well as to propoſe ſome expedients by which the obſtructions which attend ſome of our beſt-calculated charities of the public kind may be removed. I cannot, however, conclude this, without paying a compliment to the preſent age for two glorious benefactions, I mean that to the uſe of the foundling infants, and that for the accommodation of poor women in their lying-in.

NUMB. 47. SATURDAY, June 13.

------*Heu plebes ſcelerata!* SIL. ITAL.

------*O ye wicked raſcallions!*

IT may ſeem ſtrange that none of our political writers, in their learned treatiſes on the Engliſh conſtitution, ſhould take notice of any more than three eſtates, namely, King, Lords, and Commons, all entirely paſſing by in ſilence that very large and powerful body which form the fourth eſtate in this community, and have been long dignified and diſtinguiſhed by the name of *the Mob*.

And

Digitized by Google

Aud this will ſeem ſtill the more ſtrange, when we conſider that many of the great writers abovementioned have moſt inconteſtibly belonged to this very body.

To ſay preciſely at what time this fourth ſtate began firſt to figure in this commonwealth, or when the footſteps of that power which it enjoys at this day were firſt laid, muſt appear to be a matter of the higheſt difficulty, perhaps utterly impoſſible, from that deplorable ſilence which I have juſt mentioned. Certain however it is, that at the time of the Norman conqueſt, and long afterwards, the condition of this eſtate was very low and mean, thoſe who compoſed it being in general called Villains; a word which did not then bear any very honourable idea, though not ſo bad a one perhaps as it hath ſince acquired.

The part which this fourth eſtate ſeem antiently to have claimed, was to watch over and controul the other three. This, indeed, they have ſeldom aſſerted in plain words, which is poſſibly the principal reaſon why our hiſtorians have never explicitly aſſigned them their ſhare of power in the conſtitution, though this eſtate have ſo often exerciſed it, and ſo clearly aſſerted their right to it by force of arms; to wit, by fiſts, ſtaves, knives, clubs, ſcythes, and other ſuch offenſive weapons.

The firſt inſtance which I remember of this was in the reign of Richard I. when they eſpouſed the cauſe of religion, of which they have been always ſtout defenders, and deſtroyed a great number of Jews.

In the ſame reign we have another example in William Fitz-Oſborne, alias Longbeard, a ſtout aſſerter of the rights of the fourth eſtate. Theſe rights he defended in the city of London, at the head of a large party, and by force of the arms abovementioned; but was overpowered, and loſt his life by means of a wooden machine called the gallows, which hath been very fatal to the chief champions of this eſtate; as it was in the reign of Henry III. to one Conſtantine, who having, at the head of a London mob, pulled down the houſe of the High ſteward of Weſtminſter,

Digitized by Google

minſter, and committed ſome other little diſorders of the like kind, maintained to the chief juſticiary's face, That he had done nothing puniſhable by law, *i. e.* contrary to the rights of the fourth eſtate. He ſhared however the ſame fate with Mr Fitz-Oſborne.

We find in this reign of Henry III. the power of the fourth eſtate grown to a very great heighth indeed; for whilſt a treaty was on foot between that king and his barons, the mob of London thought proper not only to inſult the queen with all manner of foul language, but likewiſe to throw ſtones and dirt at her. Of which aſſertion of their privilege, we hear of no other conſequence than that the king was highly diſpleaſed; and indeed it ſeems to be allowed, by moſt writers, that the mob, in this inſtance, went a little too far.

In the time of Edward II. there is another fact upon record, of a more bloody kind, though perhaps not more indecent: for the biſhop of Exeter being a little too buſy in endeavouring to preſerve the city of London for the king his maſter, the mob were pleaſed to cut his head off.

I omit many leſſer inſtances, to come to that glorious aſſertion of the privileges of the mob under the great and mighty Wat Tyler, when they not only laid their claim to a ſhare in the government, but in truth to exclude all the other eſtates. For this purpoſe, one John Staw, or Straw, or Ball, a great orator, who was let out of Maidſtone-goal by the mob, in his harangues told them, that as all men were ſons of Adam, there ought to be no diſtinction; and that it was their duty to reduce all men to perfect equality. This they immediately ſet about; and to do it in the moſt effectual manner, they cut off the heads of all the nobility, gentry, clergy, *&c.* who fell into their hands.

With theſe deſigns they encamped in a large body at Blackheath, whence they ſent a meſſage to king Richard II. to come and talk with them, in order to ſettle the government; and when this was not complied with, they marched to London, and the gates being opened by their friends, entered the city, burnt and

Digitized by Google

and plundered the Duke of Lancaſter's palace, that of the Archbiſhop, and many other great houſes, and put to death all of the other three eſtates with whom they met, among whom were the Archbiſhop of Canterbury and the Lord Treaſurer.

The unhappy end of this noble enterpriſe is ſo well known, that it need not be mentioned. The leader being taken off by the gallantry of the Lord Mayor, the whole army, like a body when the head is ſevered, fell inſtantly to the ground; whence many were afterwards lifted to that fatal machine, which is above taken notice of.

I ſhall paſs by the exploits of Cade and Ket, and others. I think I have clearly demonſtrated, that there is ſuch a fourth eſtate as the mob, actually exiſting in our conſtitution; which, though, perhaps, for very politic reaſons, they keep themſelves generally, like the army of Mr Bayes, in diſguiſe, have often iſſued from their lurking-places, and very ſtoutly maintained their power and their privileges in this community.

Nor hath this eſtate, or their claims, been unknown to the other three; on the contrary, we find, in our ſtatute-books, numberleſs attempts to prevent their growing power, and to reſtrain them at leaſt within ſome bounds; witneſs the many laws made againſt ribauds, roberdſmen, drawlatches, waſters, rogues, vagrants, vagabonds; by all which, and many other names, this fourth eſtate hath been from time to time dignified and diſtinguiſhed.

Under all theſe appellations they are frequently named in our law-books; but I do not perfectly remember to have ſeen them mentioned under the term of the fourth eſtate in all my reading; nor do I recollect that any legiſlative or judicial power is expreſsly allowed to belong to them. And yet certain it is, that they have from time immemorial been uſed to exerciſe a judicial capacity in certain inſtances wherein the ordinary courts have been deficient for want of evidence; this being no let or hindrance to the adminiſtration of juſtice before the gentlemen who compoſe this fourth eſtate, who often proceed to judgment without

Digitized by Google

without any evidence at all. Nor muſt I omit the laudable expedition which is uſed on ſuch occaſions, their proceedings being entirely free from all thoſe delays, which are ſo much complained of in other courts. I have indeed known a pick-pocket arreſted, tried, convicted, and ducked almoſt to death, in leſs time than would have been conſumed in reading his indictment at the Old-Baily. Theſe delays they avoid chiefly by hearing only one ſide of the queſtion, concluding, as judge Gripus did of old, that the contrary method ſerves only to introduce uncertainty and confuſion.

I do not however pretend to affirm any thing of the legal original of this juriſdiction. I know the learned are greatly divided in their opinions concerning this matter, or rather perhaps in their inclinations; ſome being unwilling to allow any dower at all to this eſtate, and others as ſtoutly contending, that it would be for the public good to deliver the ſword of juſtice entirely into their hands.

So prevalent hath this latter opinion grown to be of modern days, that the fourth eſtate have been permitted to encroach in a moſt prodigious manner. What theſe encroachments have been, and the particular cauſes which have contributed to them, ſhall be the ſubject of my next Saturday's paper.

NUMB. 48. TUESDAY, June 16.

Ὦ μεγίστη τῶν θεῶν
Νῦνσ', Ἀναίδεια. MENANDER.

O thou greateſt of all the deities,
Modern Impudence.

THERE is a certain quality, which, though univerſal conſent hath not enrolled it among the cardinal virtues, is often found ſufficient, of itſelf, not only to carry its poſſeſſor through the world, but even to carry him to the top of it. It is almoſt perhaps unneceſſary to inform my reader, that the quality

Digitized by Google

lity I mean, is Impudence; ſo dear is this to one female at leaſt, that it effectually recommends a man to Fortune without the aſſiſtance of any other qualification. She ſeems indeed to think, with the poet, that,

'---He who hath but impudence,
'To all things hath a fair pretence;'

and accordingly provides that thoſe who want modeſty, ſhall want nothing elſe.

What are the particular ingredients of which this quality is compoſed, or what temper of mind is beſt fitted to produce it, is perhaps difficult to aſcertain; ſo far I think experience may convince us, that, like ſome vegetables, it will flouriſh beſt in the moſt barren ſoil. To ſay truth, I am almoſt inclined to an opinion, that it never arrives at any great degree of perfection unleſs in a mind totally unincumbered with any virtue, or with any great or good quality whatever. It would indeed ſeem that Nature had agreed with Fortune, in ſetting a high value on Impudence, and had accordingly decreed, that thoſe of her children, who had received this rich gift at her hands, were amply provided for without any further portion.

And ſurely it is not without reaſon that I call this the gift of Nature; indeed, genius itſelf is not more ſo. We may here apply a phraſe which the French uſe on an occaſion not ſo proper to be mentioned, and affirm, 'That it is not in the power of every man to 'be impudent who would be ſo.' A man, born without any genius, may as reaſonably hope to become ſuch a poet as Homer, or ſuch a critic as Longinus; as one born without impudence can pretend, without any merit, to aſpire to theſe characters.

Though nature however muſt give the ſeeds, art may cultivate them. To improve or to depreſs their growth, is greatly within the power of education. To lay down the proper precepts for this purpoſe, would require a large treatiſe, and ſuch I may poſſibly publiſh hereafter. In the mean time, it ſhall ſuffice to mention only two rules, which may be partly collected from what I have above aſſerted, and which are of univerſal

Digitized by Google

verſal uſe. This is with the utmoſt care to ſuppreſs and eradicate every ſeed or principle of what is any ways praiſeworthy out of the mind; and, ſecondly, to preſerve this in the pureſt ſtate of ignorance, than which nothing more contributes to the higheſt perfection and conſummation of impudence: the more a man knows, the more inclined is he to be modeſt; it is indeed within the province only of the higheſt human knowledge to ſurvey its own narrow compaſs.

It may, I think, be predicated in favour of impudence, that it is the quality, which, of all others, we are capable of carrying to the greateſt height; ſo far, indeed, that, did not the ſtrongeſt force of evidence convince us of the truth of ſome examples, we ſhould be apt to doubt the poſſibility of their exiſtence. What, but the concurrent teſtimony of hiſtorians, and the indubitable veracity of records, could impel us to believe, that there have been men in the world of ſuch aſtoniſhing impudence, as, in oppoſition to the certain knowledge of many thouſands, to take upon themſelves to perſonate kings and princes, as well in their lifetime, as after their death? and yet our own, as well as foreign annals, afford us ſuch inſtances.

But the greateſt hero in impudence, whom, perhaps, the world ever produced, appeared in France at the end of the laſt century. His name was Peter Mege, and he was a common ſoldier in the marines. This fellow had the aſſiſtance only of one who had been a footman to a certain man of quality, called Scipion le Brun de Caſtelane, Seigneur de Caille & de Rougon, a nobleman who had fled from France to Switzerland, to avoid a religious perſecution. With this confederate alone, Peter Mege had the amazing impudence to perſonate the young Seigneur de Caille, who was at that time dead; and this in the lifetime of the father, in defiance of all his noble relations then in poſſeſſion of his forfeited eſtate, upon the ſpot where the young gentleman had lived to the age of twenty-one; and all this without the leaſt reſemblance of features, ſhape, or ſtature; without being acquainted with any part of the hiſtory of him whom he was to repreſent, or being able to give the leaſt account of any

Digitized by Google

of his family; indeed, without being able to write and read.

But how much more will the reader be ſurpriſed to hear, that this moſt impudent of all attempts ſucceeded ſo far as to obtain a ſentence in the parliament of Provence in favour of the ſoldier? And this ſucceſs would have been final, had not the canton of Berne interpoſed, and obtained an appeal to the parliament of Paris, where at laſt the impoſtor was defeated.

To account for all this, and to aſſuage his reader's aſtoniſhment, the very ingenious author of the trial, when he informs us that this impoſtor was confronted with twenty witneſſes, who ſwore to the identity of Peter Mege, and as many more who had been fellow-ſtudents with the young nobleman, and who, on their oaths, declared that this Peter was not the perſon, goes on thus: 'But what was moſt ſtrange, 'was the ſteady countenance of the ſoldier, which 'never once betrayed him, nor gave the leaſt ſymptom of any doubt of his ſucceſs. It is in vain to 'form a project of uſurping the name of another, 'to lay your plan ever ſo regularly and ſyſtematically, if you do not provide yourſelf with a ſtock 'of impudence to ſupport every attack to which you 'may be expoſed. In ſuch an attempt, the forehead muſt be furniſhed as well without as within; 'more indeed will depend on the outſide: for it is 'the ſteadineſs of the front, hardineſs, or downright 'audacity, which impoſe on mankind the moſt, and 'make amends for all defects in the underſtanding. 'The ſoldier had made many blunders; but his invincible aſſurance repaired all, and brought over 'even his enemies to his ſide.' And, to ſay truth, I know ſcarce any thing to which ſuch a degree of aſſurance is not equal.

This attempt, indeed, of perſonating *who* you are not, ſeems to be attended with too great difficulties; and to ſucceed in it, is perhaps beyond the power of impudence; we are not therefore to wonder, that all the heroes in this way have been unſucceſsful. In fact, we ought to fix our whole attention on the undaunted

Digitized by Google

daunted impudence of engaging in such a design, and not to suffer the defeat to lessen our admiration; but to say of such a hero, with Ovid,

------*Si non tenuit, magnis tamen excidit ausis.*

But if, in personating the *who*, impudence is found unequal to the task; in personating *what* we are not, it is almost sure to come off triumphant. Here I believe the undertaker seldom fails, but through his own fault; that is, by not being impudent enough.

My Lord Bacon advises a modest man to shelter his vices under those virtues to which they are the nearest allied. The avaricious man, he would have to affect frugality; the extravagant, liberality; and so of the rest. Now the reverse of this should be the rule of our impudent man.---If you are a blockhead, my friend, be sure to commence writer; and if entirely illiterate, be sure to pretend to learning. If you are a coward, be a bully, and always talk of feats of bravery; if again you are a beggar, boast of your riches. In short, whatever vice or defect you have, set up for its opposite virtue or endowment. And if you are possessed of every ill quality, you may assert your title to every good one.

The last species of impudence which I shall mention, is to assert openly and boldly what you really are, let this be ever so bad. Own your vices, and be proud of them; and in time perhaps you may laugh virtue out of countenance, and bring your vices into fashion. This, however, is a little unsafe to attempt, unless you are very sure of yourself, and of the degree of impudence which you possess. A modest woman may be a w----e; but to behave with indecency in public; indeed, to throw off all that would recommend a woman to a vicious man of sense and taste; to shew, as De Roty says of a court lady, not the least sense of virtue in the practice of every vice; this requires the highest degree of impudence; that degree indeed, which is inconsistent with every great and good quality whatever.

Digitized by Google

NUMB. 49. SATURDAY, June 20.

Odi profanum vulgus. HOR.

I hate the mob.

IN a former paper, I have endeavoured to trace the riſe and progreſs of the power of the fourth eſtate in this conſtitution. I ſhall now examine that ſhare of power which they actually enjoy at this day, and then proceed to conſider the ſeveral means by which they have attained it.

Firſt, though this eſtate have not *as yet* claimed that right which was inſiſted on by the people or mob in old Rome, of giving a negative voice in the enacting laws, they have clearly exerciſed this power in controlling their execution. Of this it is eaſy to give many inſtances, particularly in the caſe of the gin-act ſome years ago; and in theſe of ſeveral turnpikes which have been erected againſt the good-will and pleaſure of the mob, and have by them been demoliſhed.

In oppoſing the execution of ſuch laws, they do not always rely on force; but have frequent recourſe to the moſt refined policy: for ſometimes, without openly expreſſing their diſapprobation, they take the moſt effectual means to prevent the carrying a law into execution; thoſe are by diſcountenancing all thoſe who endeavour to proſecute the offences committed againſt it.

They well know, that the courts of juſtice cannot proceed without informations; if they can ſtifle theſe, the law of courſe becomes dead and uſeleſs. The informers, therefore, in ſuch caſes, they declare to be infamous, and guilty of the crime *laſæ mobilitatis*. Of this whoever is ſuſpected (which is with them a ſynonymous term with convicted) is immediately puniſhed by buffetting, kicking, ſtoning, ducking, bemudding, &c. in ſhort, by all thoſe means of putting (ſometimes quite, ſometimes almoſt) to death, which are called by that general phraſe of Mobbing.

It

Digitized by Google

It may perhaps be ſaid, that the mob do, even at this day, connive at the execution of ſome laws, which they can by no means be ſuppoſed to approve.

Such are the laws againſt robbery, burglary, and theft. This is, I confeſs true; and I have often wondered that it is ſo. The reaſon perhaps is, the great love which the mob have for a holiday, and the great pleaſure they take in ſeeing men hanged; ſo great, that, while they are enjoying it, they are all apt to forget, that this hereafter, in all probability, is to be their own fate.

In all theſe matters however, the power of this eſtate is rather felt than ſeen. It ſeems indeed to be like that power of the crown in France, which Cardinal de Retz compares to thoſe religious myſteries that are performed in the *ſanctum ſanctorum*; and which, though it be often exerciſed, is never expreſsly claimed.

In other inſtances, the fourth eſtate is much more explicit in their pretenſions, and much more conſtant in aſſerting and maintaining them; of which I ſhall mention ſome of the principal.

Firſt, they aſſert an excluſive right to the river of Thames. It is true, the other eſtates do ſometimes venture themſelves upon the river; but this is only upon ſufferance; for which they pay whatever that branch of the fourth eſtate, called watermen, are pleaſed to exact of them. Nor are the mob contented with all theſe exactions. They grumble whenever they meet any perſons in a boat, whoſe dreſs declares them to be of a different order from themſelves. Sometimes they carry their reſentment ſo far, as to endeavour to run againſt the boat, and overſet it; but if they are too good-natured to attempt this, they never fail to attack the paſſengers with all kind of ſcurrilous, abuſive, and indecent terms, which indeed they claim as their own, and call mob-language.

The ſecond excluſive right which they inſiſt on, is to thoſe parts of the ſtreets that are ſet apart for the foot-paſſengers. In aſſerting this privilege, they are extremely rigorous; inſomuch, that none of the other orders can walk through the ſtreets by day without be-

Digitized by Google

ing inſulted, nor by night without being knocked down. And the better to ſecure theſe footpaths to themſelves, they take effectual care to keep the ſaid paths always well blocked up with chairs, wheelbarrows, and every other kind of obſtruction; in order to break the legs of all thoſe who ſhall preſume to encroach upon their privileges by walking the ſtreets.

Here it was hoped their pretenſions would have ſtopped; but it is difficult to ſet any bounds to ambition; for, having ſufficiently eſtabliſhed this right, they now begin to aſſert their right to the whole ſtreet, and have lately made ſuch a diſpoſition with their waggons, carts, and drays, that no coach can paſs along without the utmoſt difficulty and danger. With this view we every day ſee them driving ſide by ſide, and ſometimes in the broader ſtreets three a-breaſt; again, we ſee them leaving a cart or waggon in the midſt of the ſtreet, and often ſet a-croſs it, while the driver repairs to a neighbouring alehouſe, from the window of which he diverts himſelf, while he is drinking, with the miſchief or inconvenience which his vehicle occaſions.

The ſame pretenſions which they make to the poſſeſſion of the ſtreets, they make likewiſe to the poſſeſſion of the high-ways. I doubt not, I ſhall be told they claim only an equal right; for I know it is very uſual when a carter or dray-man is civilly deſired to make a little room, by moving out of the middle of the road, either to the right or left, to hear the following anſwer: 'D---n your eyes, who are you? 'Is not the road, and be d---n'd to you, as free for 'me as you?' Hence it will, I ſuppoſe, be inferred that they do not abſolutely exclude the other eſtates from the uſe of the common high-ways. But notwithſtanding this generous conceſſion in words, I do aver their practice is different, and that a gentleman may go a voyage at ſea with little more hazard than he can travel ten miles from the metropolis.

I ſhall mention only one claim more, and that a very new and a very extraordinary one. It is the right of excluding all women of faſhion out of St James's-Park on a Sunday evening. This they have lately

Digitized by Google

lately asserted with great vehemence, and have inflicted the punishment of mobbing on several ladies, who had transgressed without design, not having been apprised of the good pleasure of the mob in this point. And this I the rather publish to prevent any such transgressions for the future, since it hath already appeared, that no degree of either dignity or beauty can secure the offenders *.

Many things have contributed to raise this fourth estate to that exorbitant degree of power which they at present enjoy, and which seems to threaten to shake the balance of our constitution. I shall name only three, as these appear to me to have had much the greatest share in bringing it about.

The first is that act of parliament which was made at the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and which I cannot help considering as a kind of compromise between the other three estates and this. By this act it was stipulated, that the fourth estate should annually receive out of the possessions of the others, a certain large proportion yearly, upon an implied condition (for no such was expressed) that they should suffer the other estates to enjoy the rest of their property without loss or molestation.

This law gave a new turn to the minds of the mobility. They found themselves no longer obliged to depend on the charity of their neighbours, nor on their own industry for a maintenance. They now looked on themselves as joint-proprietors in the land, and celebrated their independency in songs of triumph; witness the old ballad which was in all their mouths,

'Hang sorrow, cast away care;
'The parish is bound to find us, *&c.*'

A second cause of their present elevation has been the private quarrels between particular members of the other estates, who, on such occasions, have done all they could on both sides to raise the power of the

* A lady of great quality, and admirable beauty, was mobbed in the Park at this time.

mob,

Digitized by Google

mob, in order to avail themſelves of it, and to employ it againſt their enemies.

The third and the laſt which I ſhall mention is, the miſtaken idea which ſome particular perſons have always entertained of the word Liberty; but this will open too copious a ſubject, and ſhall be therefore treated in a future paper.

But before I diſmiſs this, I muſt obſerve, that there are two ſorts of perſons of whom this fourth eſtate do yet ſtand in ſome awe, and whom conſequently they have in great abhorrence: theſe are a juſtice of peace, and a ſoldier. To theſe two it is entirely owing that they have not long ſince rooted all the other orders out of the commonwealth.

NUMB 51. SATURDAY, June 27.

Hæ tibi erunt artes.------ VIRG.

Theſe muſt be your golden rules.

OF all the manufactures, there is none at preſent in a more flouriſhing condition, or which hath received more conſiderable improvements of late years, than the manufacture of paper. To ſuch perfection is this brought at preſent, that it almoſt promiſes to rival the great ſtaple commodity of this kingdom.

The two principal branches of this manufacture are carried on by painting and printing. To what a degree of excellence the artiſts are arrived in the former, I need not mention. Our painted paper is ſcarce diſtinguiſhable from the fineſt ſilk; and there is ſcarce a modern houſe, which hath not one or more rooms lined with this furniture.

But however valuable this branch may be, it is by no means equal to that which is carried on by printing. Of ſuch conſequence, indeed, to the public may this part of the paper-manufacture be made, that I doubt not but that, with proper care, it would be capable of finding an ample proviſion for the poor. To which

Digitized by Google

which purpoſe it ſeems better adapted than any other, for a reaſon which I ſhall preſently aſſign.

Of printing likewiſe, there are two kinds; that of the rolling, and that of the letter preſs,---or perhaps I ſhall be better underſtood by moſt of my readers, by the terms Prints and Books.

The former (though of infinitely the leſs conſequence) hath been of late much improved; and tho' it doth not conſume a great quantity of paper, doth however employ a great number of hands. This was formerly an inconſiderable buſineſs, and very few got their bread by it; but ſome ingenious perſons have of late ſo greatly extended it, that there are at preſent almoſt as many print-ſhops as there are bakers in this metropolis.

This improvement hath been owing to a deep penetration into human nature, by which it hath been diſcovered, that there are two ſights, which the generality of mankind do hunger after with little leſs avidity than after their daily bread. The one is to behold certain parts which are ſeverally common to one half of the ſpecies exhibited to view, in the moſt amiable and inviting manner; the other is to ſee certain faces, which belong to individuals, expoſed in a ridiculous and contemptible light. By feeding both which appetites, the printmakers have very plentifully fed themſelves.

I come now to the ſecond branch of printing, namely, to that which is performed at the letter-preſs, and which conſiſts of books, pamphlets, papers, *&c.* The flouriſhing ſtate of this manufacture needs no kind of proof. It is indeed certain, that more paper is now conſumed this way in a week, than was formerly the conſumption of a year.

To this notable increaſe, nothing perhaps hath more contributed, than the new invention of writing without the qualifications of any genius or learning. The firſt printers, poſſibly miſled by an old precept in one Horace, ſeem to have imagined, that both thoſe ingredients were neceſſary in the writer; and accordingly we find they employed themſelves on ſuch ſamples only, as were produced by men in whom genius

Digitized by Google

nius and learning concurred: but modern times have diſcovered, that the trade is very well to be carried on without either; and this by introducing ſeveral new kind of wares, the manufacture of which is extremely eaſy, as well as extremely lucrative. The principal of theſe are blaſphemy, treaſon, baudry and ſcandal. For in the making up of all theſe, the qualifications above-mentioned, together with that modeſty which is inſeparable from them, would be rather an incumbrance than of any real uſe.

No ſooner were theſe new-faſhioned wares brought to market, than the paper-merchants, commonly called bookſellers, found ſo immenſe a demand for them, that their buſineſs was to find hands ſufficient to ſupply the wants of the public. In this, however, they had no great difficulty, as the work was ſo extremely eaſy, that no talents whatever (except that of being able to write) not even the capacity of ſpelling, were requiſite.

The methods however which have been uſed by the paper-merchants to make theſe new-faſhioned wares univerſally known, are very ingenious and worthy our notice.

The firſt of theſe methods was for the merchant himſelf to mount in the moſt public part of the town into a wooden machine called the pillory, where he ſtood for the ſpace of an hour, proclaiming his goods to all that paſſed that way. This was practiſed with much ſucceſs by the late Mr Curl, Mr Miſt, and others, who never failed of ſelling ſeveral large bales of goods in this manner.

Notwithſtanding, however, the profits ariſing from this method of publication, it was not without objections; for ſeveral wanton perſons among the mob were uſed on ſuch occaſions to divert themſelves by pelting the merchant while he ſtood expoſed on the *publiſhing-ſtool*, with rotten-eggs and other miſchievous implements, by which means he often came off much bedaubed, and ſometimes not without bodily hurt.

Some of the more cunning therefore among the merchants began to decline this practice themſelves, and

Digitized by Google

and employed their underſtrappers, that is to ſay, their writers for ſuch purpoſes: for it was conceived a piece of blaſphemy, bawdry, &c. would be as well ſold by exhibiting the author as by exhibiting the bookſeller.

Of this probably they received the firſt hint from the caſe of one Mr Richard Savage; an author whoſe manufactures had long lain uncalled for in the warehouſe, till he happened, very fortunately for his bookſeller, to be found guilty of a capital crime at the Old-Baily. The merchant inſtantly took the hint, and the very next day advertiſed the works of Mr Savage, now under ſentence of death for murder. This device ſucceeded, and immediately (to uſe their phraſe) carried off the whole impreſſion.

Encouraged by this ſucceſs, the merchant, not doubting the execution of his author, bade very high for his dying ſpeech, which was accordingly penned and delivered. Savage, however, was, contrary to all expectation, pardoned, and would have returned the money; but the merchant inſiſted on his bargain, and publiſhed the dying ſpeech which Mr Savage ſhould have made at Tyburn, of which, it is probable, as many were ſold as there were people in town who could read.

The gallows being found to be a great friend to the preſs, the merchants for the future made it their chief care to provide themſelves with ſuch writers, as were moſt likely to call in this aſſiſtance; in other words, who were in the faireſt way of being hanged; and though they have not always ſucceeded to their wiſh, yet, whoever is well read in the productions of the laſt twenty years, will be more inclined perhaps to blame the law, than the ſagacity of the bookſellers.

The whipping poſt hath been likewiſe of eminent uſe to the ſame purpoſes; and though perhaps this may raiſe leſs curioſity than the gallows, in one inſtance at leaſt it hath viſibly the advantage: for an author, though he may deſerve it often, can be hanged but once, but he may be whipped ſeveral times, indeed ſix times by one ſentence, of which we have lately

Digitized by Google

lately ſeen an inſtance in the perſon of Stroud, who is a ſtrong proof of the great profits which the paper-merchants derive from the whipping one of their manufacturers.

Mr Stroud, in imitation of ſeveral eminent perſons, thought proper to publiſh an apology for his life. The public, however, were leſs kind to him than they had been to other great apologiſts, and treated his performance with contempt. But no ſooner was he tied to the cart's tail, than the work began to ſell in great numbers; and this ſale revived with every monthly whipping; ſo that if he had been whipped, as ſome imagined he was to have been, once a-month during life, the merchant poſſibly might have ſold as many bales of his works as have been ſold of thoſe of Swift himſelf.

I ſhall conclude with hoping, that, as the merchants ſeem at preſent to have their eye chiefly on the whipping-poſt for the advancement of their manufactures, it is to be hoped courts of juſtice will do all that in them lyes, to encourage a trade of ſuch wonderful benefit to the kingdom, and which ſeems more likely than any other to provide a maintenance for our poor; as no qualification is required to the production of theſe wares, beſides that of being able to writ, nor any tools or ſtock to ſet up a manufacturer, beſides a pen and ink, and a ſmall quantity of paper; ſo that an author may indeed be equipped at a cheaper rate than a blacker of ſhoes.

Digitized by Google

NUMB. 53. SATURDAY, July 4.

Quid dignum tanto feret hic promiſſor hiatu? HOR.

What will this Gaſcoon be able to perform after this puff?

To the CENSOR of GREAT-BRITAIN.

SIR,

YOUR predeceſſors in the cenſorſhip were uſed to celebrate the ſeveral extraordinary perſonages who appeared in their time. As I doubt not to find in yourſelf the ſame good diſpoſition, I here ſend you an advertiſement printed in the Daily Advertiſer of Monday laſt; the author of which muſt, I think, be eſteemed the moſt extraordinary perſon whom any age hath produced.

'UN François, homme de lettres, eſt arrivee de Paris a Londres, pour y enſeigner le François, la Fable, la Poeſie, la Blaſon, la Philoſophie Françoiſe, le Latin, ſans exiger aucune etude de ſon diſciple; l'etude etant un obſtacle a ſa methode. S'il y a des temperamens trop foibles pour les contraindre, des caracteres trop vifs pour les fixer, des perſonnes trop agees pour s'appliquer a l'etude, & qu'ils veuillent apprendre quelqu'une de ces ſciences ſur une methode ſi ſimple, plus courte, & plus ſolide que tout ce qui a precede; they are deſired to inquire at Mr Bezançon's Snuff-ſhop, in Little-Earl-Street, the Black-Boy, by the Seven Dials.'

As it is poſſible that ſome of your readers may not have yet converſed with this ſurpriſing maſter, I ſhall, for his and their ſakes, endeavour to render it in Engliſh.

Thus then it runs:

'A Frenchman, a man of learning, is arrived at London from Paris, in order to teach the French

Digitized by Google

'language, Fables, Poetry, Heraldry, *French Philo-*
'*ſophy*, and the Latin tongue; without exacting any
'ſtudy from his ſcholars, *all ſtudy being an obſtacle to*
'*his method.* If there be any conſtitutions too weak
'to bear contradiction, any characters too lively to
'be capable of attention, any perſons too far advan-
'ced in life to apply themſelves to ſtudy, and who
'are willing to learn any of the above ſciences, by a
'ſimple method, and one ſhorter as well as more ſo-
'lid than any which hath been hitherto practiſed,
'they are deſired to inquire,' *&c.* as above.

I muſt confeſs myſelf ſo ignorant, that, till I read this wonderful performance, I did not know there was a philoſophy which was peculiar to France, and that went under the name of French Philoſophy! Perhaps this is what is meant by the French Marque iu St Evremont, when he ſays, 'Premierement, j'aime la 'guerre, apres la guerre madame de------, apres 'madame de------ la religion, apres la religion *la* '*philoſophie*---Voila ce que j'aime, Morbleu!' 'My 'firſt paſſion is *the war*, my ſecond is *madame* de----, 'my third is *religion*, and my fourth paſſion is *philo-* '*ſophy*.---Now I have told you what my paſſions are, 'd---n me!' In which paſſage it ſeems pretty plain that *la philoſophie* is no other than what the French likewiſe call *la danſe*; and then it will be plain that the artiſt above-mentioned is no other than a dancing-maſter, to whoſe method of teaching I do readily agree, that ſtudy is often a very deplorable obſtacle.

But this will by no means ſolve all the difficulties: for though dancing will poſſibly make a man a great adept in the French philoſophy, how he will be able to dance into any Engliſh ſcience, or into the Latin tongue, is ſomewhat hard to conceive. Parhaps, by French philoſophy, the author means what is alſo called *l'induſtrie, ou l'art de voler bien les poches*, which I muſt beg to be excuſed from tranſlating into our coarſer language; in barbarous French, it may be called, The art of peka de poka. But if this be his meaning, I fancy he will be greatly deceived in his views; ſince I believe it is impoſſible to find more able maſters than ſome of his countrymen have already ſhewn

Digitized by Google

ſhewn themſelves here in that art. Nor do I believe, that ſtudy or intenſe application can be an enemy to this art, ſince I know ſeveral of the Engliſh who have plodded on all their lives on this very ſcience, and have at laſt, by mere dint of ſtudy, become very great proficients in it.

To ſay the truth, I am inclined to think, that by *a la Philoſophie Françoiſe*, is meant no other than *la bonne aſſurance*; that aſſurance, which the French alone call good, and which, it is very probable, they alone may call philoſophy.

And this I the rather conclude to be the undertaker's meaning, as it is certain, that, to the making any conſiderable progreſs in this French philoſophy, ſtudy is of all things the greateſt obſtacle. I have indeed obſerved in a late paper, that no man of learning was ever a proficient in this art. I muſt further obſerve, that the diſciples which our maſter ſeems to have principally choſen, ſuch, I mean, as can bear no contradiction, ſuch as are incapable of any attention, and ſuch aged perſons who are willing, all at once, without any labour, to leap, as it were, into ſcience, are all excellently adapted to receive the ſtrongeſt and moſt immediate impreſſions of this philoſophy.

Nor can I help obſerving, which is a further confirmation of my opinion, how nobly our artiſt hath contrived to convince the world of his fitneſs for the taſk he hath undertaken. I defy the ingenuity of man to invent a better method of conveying to the public, in ſo few lines, an idea of a capacity for any undertaking whatever, than this aſtoniſhing Frenchman hath made uſe of to ſhew this nation how well qualified he is to teach them the French philoſophy, or the good aſſurance. I will not venture to propheſy what ſucceſs may attend ſo new and ſo extraordinary a propoſal. This, however, I cannot avoid remarking, that it ſeems to indicate what opinion of the underſtandings of the good people of this iſland at preſent prevails among the French philoſophers abroad. I am well convinced, it would be extremely difficult to perſuade the greateſt adept in the good aſſurance which this kingdom ever produced, to expect any ſuc-

Digitized by Google

ceſs from ſuch a propoſal even among the Hottentots, if he could make himſelf enough underſtood to publiſh his ſcheme among them.

I am, Sir,

Your moſt humble ſervant,

ANTIGALICUS.

NUMB. 54. SATURDAY, July 11.

------His juventas orta parentibus
Infecit æquor ſanguine Punico.

Such were the heroes of that glorious reign
That humbled to the duſt the pride of Spain.

Mr CENSOR,

YOU have formerly entertained the public, by repreſenting to them the opinions which poſterity will be ſuppoſed to conceive of the preſent age; you will poſſibly furniſh no leſs amuſement to your readers, by caſting your eyes backwards into our annals, as the manners of their anceſtors will, I apprehend, appear no leſs ſtrange to the preſent age, than the hiſtory of theſe our times can be thought hereafter.

After this ſhort introduction, I ſhall preſent you with a curious dialogue, which ſeems to have been written towards the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. I have taken the liberty to modernize the language, without doing the leaſt violence to the ſentiments of the original.

A Dialogue between Mr Engliſh, *Madam* Engliſh, *Miſs* Biddy Engliſh, *and Mrs* Plumtree, *the Miſtreſs of the houſe.*

Mrs Plum. I hope your Ladyſhip is very well this morning, after the fatigue of your journey.

Mad.

Digitized by Google

Mad. Eng. Indeed, Mrs Plumtree, I never was more fatigued in my life. Four days together, upon a hard trotting horſe, are enough to tire any one; beſides, my pillion was horridly uneaſy, and I rode behind the footboy, who was hardly able to ſupport my leaning againſt him, but here's Biddy not in the leaſt the worſe for her journey.

Miſs Biddy. Upon my word, Mamma, I never was in better ſpirits in my life. My ride hath given me an appetite; I have ate above half a pound of beef-ſteaks this morning for breakfaſt.

Mrs Eng. I could have gone through any thing at your age, my dear, though I was never many miles from home before I was married. The young ladies have more liberty in theſe days, than they had formerly. Indeed, it was entirely owing to your father's goodneſs that you came to London now.

Mrs Plum. O Madam, I am ſure your Ladyſhip would not have left Miſs in the country. It would have been barbarous not to have let her ſee the Tower, and the Abbey, and Bedlam, and two or three plays.

Mrs Eng. Fy, Mrs Plumtree! with what are you filling the child's head? one play ſhe is to ſee, and no more. The terms are all ſettled. One play, one new gown, and one ruff. But now I mention theſe things, pray, Mrs Plumtree, what is become of the mantua-maker I employed laſt parliament, when I was here?

Mrs Plum. Alas, poor woman, ſhe is dead; but I can recommend your ladyſhip to another, one of the beſt in all London: ſhe makes gowns for the Lady Mayoreſs herſelf.

Mrs Eng. I ſhall be obliged to you, good Mrs Plumtree, to ſend for her to-day, for I have three viſits to make in London, and I ſhall like to do it in my new clothes.---O, Sir John, are you come at laſt? Dinner hath ſtayed for you till, I ſuppoſe, it is ſpoiled. It is almoſt two o'clock.

Mr Eng. The houſe is but juſt up, my dear. We ſat very late to-day. I aſſure you, I was invited very much to dine with one of our knights of the ſhire at

Digitized by Google

his lodgings; he had a haunch of veniſon, a fat gooſe, and an apple-pye, for dinner,---and all this I left for your company.

Mrs Eng. Well, Sir John, I do not blame you; but parliament hours are very dreadful things.

Mrs Eng. We muſt ſuffer ſome inconveniences for the good of our country, and we are employed upon a ſcheme now that is of the utmoſt conſequence to the nation. We are going to make ſuch a proviſion for the poor, that there will never be another beggar in the kingdom †.

Mrs Plum. I am heartily glad of that; and I am ſure it is high time, for it was no longer ago than laſt ſummer that I ſaw two poor wretches, in one day, actually begging in the open ſtreet.

Mr Eng. Well, dame, and how doth my good friend Maſter Plumtree hold it? We ſhall have another game at lantry-loo.

Mrs Plum. Indeed, Sir John, you are too hard for my huſband. You won above ten ſhillings of him laſt parliament.

Mr Eng. Your family is not hurt by it; for I believe you are as much in my debt on the ſame account; but I beg you will not encourage this girl to play! for ſhe is too much inclined to idleneſs.

Miſs Biddy. Nay, Mamma, I am ſure I never deſire to play but in the Chriſtmas holidays.

Mrs Plum. O, Madam, Miſs will have ſomething elſe to think on. Here is a young ſquire that lodges in our neighbourhood; a fine hardy young ſpark. There are but few, they tell me, that can either run or wreſtle with him, and heir to a noble eſtate he is.

(At thoſe words Miſs Biddy bluſhed extremely.)

Mr Eng. Well, let him look to it. Biddy won't turn her back to him. But, my dear, I have a ſhew for you. The Queen goes to the parliament-houſe to-morrow; and there will be all the fine lords and la-

† By this paſſage, it is ſuppoſed this dialogue happened in the forty-third year of Queen Elizabeth, when the famous ſtatute was made for providing for the poor; and which is the corner-ſtone of all our excellent poor laws.

dies

dies of the court. I have hired a balcony, and my little Biddy ſhall go too.

Mrs Eng. You ſee, Biddy, how good your papa is; and now, I hope, you will be ſatisfied, and not deſire to go out any more, except to one play and to church, whilſt you ſtay in London. I am ſure he is ſo liberal, he will be forced to ſend up for the other twenty pounds.

Mr Eng. Never mind that, my dear! your prudence in the country will ſoon make it up. But now I talk of court ladies, I have a piece of news for you. Indeed, I can hardly believe it myſelf, and yet I was told it by a very great perſon.

Mrs Eng. What can it be, my dear, that you introduce with all this preface?

Mrs Plum. I hope there are no more Spaniſh Armadas coming.

Mr Eng. No, no, nothing of that kind---In ſhort, it is ſo ſtrange a thing, I ſcarce know how to mention it.---But can you think it? they ſay there is a court lady that hath made a cuckold of her huſband---A woman of very great quality, I aſſure you.

Mrs Eng. This is ſtrange news, indeed, and impoſſible to be true.

Mr Eng. Hardly impoſſible, my dear; ſuch things have been in nature.---

Mrs Eng. And what is become of the lady, pray?

Mr Eng. Why, ſhe is at court ſtill.

Mrs Eng. Then it is impoſſible to be true; for if I could believe there was one ſuch woman of quality, I am well convinced there are no other that would own her.

Mr Eng. I only tell you what I hear---But come, dame Plumtree, is not your dinner ready?---Upon my word, I have been half-ſtarved. My conſtituents ſhall find out ſome other to ſerve them in the next parliament. It is a hard duty, Mrs Plumtree, and a very expenſive one too. I never come up myſelf under twenty pounds; and if my wife comes with me, the expence is almoſt double.

Mrs Plum. Well, Sir---but you know all men muſt ſerve their country.

Mr Eng.

Digitized by Google

Mr Eng. Yes, Madam, and if all would, the burthen would be leſs ſevere; but I have diſcovered a moſt wicked corruption in the borough I ſerve for---There are three gentlemen in the neighbourhood, who have as good eſtates as I have, and yet, becauſe they entertain the Mayor and Aldermen with more ſtrong drink than I do, they have never once attempted to chuſe them. The moment there is but a diſcourſe of an election, to toping they go.---So that they are ſure of always eſcaping, and I am likely to ſerve my country as long as I live.

Mrs Plum. It is very hard, I muſt confeſs, ſquire, but then you will conſider you have all the honour.--However, Sir, dinner is upon the table at preſent.

Mr Eng. Lead on then, my dame, and I will ſhew you what a ſtomach I have got in the ſervice of my country.

NUMB. 55. SATURDAY, July 18.

------*Juvat integros accedere fontes,*
Atque haurire.------ LUCRETIUS.

------*It is pleaſant to handle*
An untouched ſubject.

IT hath been obſerved, that characters of humour do abound more in this our iſland than in any other country; and this hath been commonly ſuppoſed to ariſe from that pure and perfect ſtate of liberty which we enjoy in a degree greatly ſuperior to every foreign nation.

This opinion I know, hath great ſanction; and yet I am inclined to ſuſpect the truth of it, unleſs we will extend the meaning of the word Liberty farther than I think it hath been yet carried, and will include in it, not only an exemption from all reſtraint of municipal laws, but likewiſe from all reſtraint of thoſe rules of behaviour which are expreſſed in the general term of good-

Digitized by Google

good-breeding. Laws which, though not written, are perhaps better underſtood; and, though eſtabliſhed by no coercive power, much better obeyed within the circle where they are received, than in any of thoſe laws which are recorded in books, or enforced by public authority.

A perfect freedom from theſe laws, if I am not greatly miſtaken, is abſolutely neceſſary to form the true character of humour; a character which is therefore not to be met with among thoſe people who conduct themſelves by the rules of good-breeding.

For, indeed, good-breeding is little more than the art of rooting out all thoſe ſeeds of humour, which nature had originally implanted in our minds.

To make this evident, it ſeems neceſſary only to explain the terms, a matter in which I do not ſee the great difficulty which hath appeared to other writers. Some of theſe have ſpoken of the word Humour, as if it contained in it ſome myſtery impoſſible to be revealed; and no one, as I knew of, hath undertaken to ſhew us expreſsly what it is, though I ſcarce doubt but it was amply done by Ariſtotle in his treatiſe on comedy, which is unhappily loſt.

But what is more ſurpriſing, is, that we find it pretty well explained in authors who at the ſame time tell us, they know not what it is. Mr Congreve, in a letter to Mr Dennis hath theſe words: 'We can-'not certainly tell what wit is, or what humour is;' and within a few lines afterwards he ſays, 'There is 'great difference between a comedy wherein there 'are many things humouroufly, as they call it, which 'is pleaſantly ſpoken; and one where there are ſeve-'ral characters of humour, diſtinguiſhed by the par-'ticular and different humours appropriated to the 'ſeveral perſons repreſented, and which naturally 'ariſe from the different conſtitutions, complexions, 'and diſpoſitions of men.' And again, 'I take hu-'mour to be a ſingular and unavoidable manner of 'ſaying or doing any thing peculiar and natural to 'one man only; by which his ſpeech and actions are 'diſtinguiſhed from thoſe of other men. Our hu-'mour hath relation to us, and to what proceeds 'from

Digitized by Google

'from us, as the accidents have to a ſubſtance; it is
'a colour, taſte, and ſmell diffuſed through all;
'though our actions are ever ſo many, and different
'in form, they are all ſplinters of the ſame wood, and
'have naturally one complexion,' *&c.*

If my reader hath any doubt whether this is a juſt deſcription of humour, let him compare it with thoſe examples of humorous characters, which the greateſt maſters have given us, and which have been univerſally acknowledged as ſuch, and he will be perhaps convinced.

Ben Johnſon, after complaining of the abuſe of the word, proceeds thus:

'Why humour (as 'tis ens) we thus define it,
'To be a quality of air, or water,
'And in itſelf holds theſe two properties,
'Moiſture and fluxure; as for demonſtration,
'Pour water on this floor, 'twill wet and run:
'Likewiſe the air forc'd thro' a horn or trumpet
'Flows inſtantly away, and leaves behind
'A kind of dew; and hence we do conclude,
'That whatſo'er hath fluxure and humidity,
'As wanting power to contain itſelf,
'Is humour. So in every human body,
'The choler, melancholy, phlegm, and blood,
'By reaſon that they flow continually
'In ſome one part, and are not continent,
'Receive the name of humours.' "Now thus far
"It may, by metaphor, apply itſelf
"Unto the general diſpoſition:
"As when ſome one peculiar quality
"Doth ſo poſſeſs a man, that it doth draw
"All his effects, his ſpirits, and his powers,
"In their conflúctions all to run one way,"
'*This may be truly ſaid to be a humour.*
'But that a rook, by wearing a py'd feather,
'The cable hatband, or the three-piled ruff,
'A yard of ſhoe-tie, or the Switzer's knot
'On his French garters, ſhould affect a humour!
'O! it is more than moſt ridiculous.'

This

Digitized by Google

This paſſage is in the firſt act of *Every Man out of his Humour;* and I queſtion not but to ſome readers the author will appear to have been out of his wits when he wrote it; but others, I am poſitive, will diſcern much excellent ore ſhining among the rubbiſh. In truth, his ſentiment, when let looſe from that ſtiff boddice in which it is laced, will amount to this, that, as the term Humour contains in it the ideas of moiſture and fluxure, it was applied to certain moiſt and flux habits of the body, and afterwards metaphorically to peculiar qualities of the mind, which, when they are extremely prevalent, do, like the predominant humours of the body, flow all to one part; and as the latter are known to abſorb and drain off all the corporeal juices and ſtrength to themſelves, ſo the former are no leſs certain of engaging the affections, ſpirits, and powers of the mind, and of enliſting them as it were into their own ſervice, and under their own abſolute command.

Here then we have another pretty adequate notion of humour, which is indeed nothing more than a violent bent or diſpoſition of the mind to ſome particular point. To enumerate indeed theſe ſeveral diſpoſitions would be, as Mr Congreve obſerves, as endleſs as to ſum up the ſeveral opinions of men; nay, as he well ſays, the *quot homines, tot ſententiæ*, may be more properly interpreted of their humours, than their opinions.

Hitherto there is no mention of the ridiculous, the idea of which, though not eſſential to humour, is always included in our notions of it. The ridiculous is annexed to it theſe two ways, either by the manner or the degree in which it is exerted.

By either of theſe the very beſt and worthieſt diſpoſition of the human mind may become ridiculous. Exceſs, ſays Horace, even in the purſuit of virtue, will lead a wiſe and a good man into folly and vice---So will it ſubject him to ridicule; for into this, ſays the judicious Abbe Bellegarde, a man may tumble headlong with an excellent underſtanding, and with the moſt laudable qualities. Piety, patriotiſm, loyalty, parental

Digitized by Google

parental affection, *&c.* have all afforded characters of humour for the ſtage.

By the manner of exerting itſelf likewiſe a humour becomes ridiculous. By this means chiefly the tragic humour differs from the comic; it is the ſame ambition which raiſes our horror in Macbeth, and our laughter at the drunken ſailors in the Tempeſt; the ſame avarice which cauſes the dreadful incidents in the Fatal Curioſity of Lillo, and in the Miſer of Moliere; the ſame jealouſy which forms an Othello, or a Suſpicious Huſband. No paſſion or humour of the mind is abſolutely either tragic or comic in itſelf. Nero had the art of making vanity the object of horror; and Domitian, in one inſtance, at leaſt, made cruelty ridiculous.

As theſe tragic modes however never enter into our notion of humour, I will venture to make a ſmall addition to the ſentiments of the two great maſters I have mentioned, by which I apprehend my deſcription of humour will pretty well coincide with the general opinion. By humour then, I ſuppoſe, is generally intended a violent impulſe of the mind, determining it to ſome one peculiar point, by which a man becomes ridiculouſly diſtinguiſhed from all other men.

If there be any truth in what I have now ſaid, nothing can more clearly follow than the manifeſt repugnancy between humour and good-breeding: the latter being the art of conducting yourſelf by certain common and general rules, by which means, if they were univerſally obſerved, the whole world would appear (as all courtiers actually do) to be, in their external behaviour at leaſt, but one and the ſame perſon.

I have not room at preſent, if I were able, to enumerate the rules of good-breeding: I ſhall only mention one, which is a ſummary of them all. This is the moſt golden of all rules, no leſs than that *of doing to all men as you would they ſhould do unto you.*

In the deviation from this law, as I hope to evince in my next, all that we call humour principally conſiſts. I ſhall at the ſame time, I think, be able to ſhew, that it is to this deviation we owe the general character

Digitized by Google

character mentioned in the beginning of this paper, as well as to assign the reasons why we of this nation have been capable of attracting to ourselves such merit in preference to others.

Numb. 56. Saturday, July 25.

Hoc fonte derivata. Hor.

These are the sources.

At the conclusion of my last paper, I asserted that the summary of good-breeding was no other than that comprehensive and exalted rule, which the greatest authority hath told us is the sum-total of all religion and all morality.

Here, however, my readers will be pleased to observe, that the subject matter of good-breeding being only what is called behaviour, it is this only to which we are to apply it on the present occasion. Perhaps, therefore, we shall be better understood, if we vary the word, and read it thus: *Behave unto all men, as you would they should behave unto you.*

This will most certainly oblige us to treat all mankind with the utmost civility and respect, there being nothing which we desire more than to be treated so by them. This will most effectually restrain the indulgence of all those violent and inordinate desires, which, as we have endeavoured to shew, are the true seeds of humour in the human mind: the growth of which good-breeding will be sure to obstruct; or will at least so over-top and shadow, that they shall not appear. The ambitious, the covetous, the proud, the vain, the angry, the debauchee, the glutton, are all lost in the character of the well-bred man; or if Nature should now and then venture to peep forth, she withdraws in an instant, and doth not shew enough of herself to become ridiculous.

Now humour arises from the very opposite behaviour, from throwing the reins on the neck of our favourite

Digitized by Google

vourite paſſion, and giving it a full ſcope and indulgence. The ingenious Abbe, whom I quoted in my former paper, paints this admirably in the characters of ill-breeding; which he mentions as the very firſt ſcene of the ridiculous. 'Ill-breeding *(l' Impoliteſſe)*,' ſays he, 'is not a ſingle defect, it is the reſult of many. It is ſometimes a groſs ignorance of decorum, 'or a ſtupid indolence, which prevent us from giving to others what is due to them. It is a peeviſh 'malignity, which inclines us to oppoſe the inclinations of thoſe with whom we converſe. It is the 'conſequence of a fooliſh vanity, which hath no com'plaiſance for any other perſon; the effect of a proud 'and whimſical humour, which ſoars above all the 'rules of civility; or, laſtly, it is produced by a me'lancholy turn of mind, which pampers itſelf *(qui 'trouve du ragout)* with a rude and diſobliging be'haviour.'

Having thus ſhewn, I think, very clearly, that good-breeding is, and muſt be, the very bane of the ridiculous, that is to ſay, of all humorous characters; it will perhaps be no difficult taſk to diſcover why this character hath been in a ſingular manner attributed to this nation.

For this I ſhall aſſign two reaſons only; as theſe ſeem to me abundantly ſatisfactory and adequate to the purpoſe.

The firſt is, that method ſo general in this kingdom of giving no educations to the youth of both ſexes; I ſay general only, for it is not without ſome few exceptions.

Much the greater part of our lads of faſhion return from ſchool at fifteen or ſixteen, very little wiſer, and not at all the better for having been ſent thither. Part of theſe return to the place from whence they came, their fathers country ſeats; where racing, cock-fighting, hunting, and other rural ſports, with ſmoaking, drinking, and party, become their purſuit, and form the whole buſineſs and amuſement of their future lives. The other part eſcape to town, in the diverſions, faſhions, follies, and vices of which they are immediately initiated. In this academy ſome finiſh their ſtudies, while

Digitized by Google

while others by their wiſer parents are ſent abroad, to add the knowledge of the diverſions, faſhions, follies, and vices of all Europe, to that of thoſe of their own country.

Hence then we are to derive two great general characters of humour, which are the clown and the coxcomb, and both of theſe will be almoſt infinitely diverſified, according to the different paſſions and natural diſpoſitions of each individual, and according to their different walks in life. Great will be the difference, for inſtance, whether the country gentleman be a whig or a tory; whether he prefers women, drink, or dogs; ſo will it be whether the town ſpark be allotted to ſerve his country as a politician, a courtier, a ſoldier, a ſailor, or poſſibly a churchman (for by draughts from this academy, all theſe offices are ſupplied); or, laſtly, whether his ambition ſhall be contented with no other appellation than merely that of a beau.

Some of our lads, however, are deſtined to a further progreſs in learning; theſe are not only confined longer to the labour of a ſchool, but are ſent thence to the univerſity. Here, if they pleaſe, they may read on; and if they pleaſe, they may (as moſt of them do) let it alone, and betake themſelves, as their fancy leads, or the imitation of their elder brothers either in town or country.

This is a matter which I ſhall handle very tenderly, as I am clearly of opinion that an univerſity education is much the beſt we have; for here at leaſt there is ſome reſtraint laid on the inclinations of our youth. The ſportſman, the gameſter, and the ſot, cannot give ſuch a looſe to their extravagance, as if they were at home and under no manner of government; nor can our ſpark, who is diſpoſed to the town pleaſures, find either gaming-houſes or play-houſes, nor half the taverns or bawdy-houſes which are ready to receive him in Covent-Garden.

So far, however, I hope, I may ſay without offence, that, among all the ſchools at the univerſities, there is none where the ſcience of good-breeding is taught; no lectures like the excellent leſſons on the ridiculous,

Digitized by Google

which I have quoted above, and which I do moſt earneſtly recommend to all my young readers. Hence the learned profeſſions produce ſuch excellent characters of humour; and the rudeneſs of phyſicians, lawyers, and parſons, however dignified or diſtinguiſhed, affords ſuch pleaſant ſtories to divert private companies, and ſometimes the public.

I come now to the beautiful part of the creation, who, in the ſenſe I here uſe the word, I am aſſured can hardly (for the moſt part) be ſaid to have any education.

As to the counterpart of my country-ſquire, the country-gentlewoman, I apprehend, that, except in the article of the dancing-maſter, and perhaps in that of being barely able to read and write, there is very little difference between the education of many a ſquire's daughter, and that of his dairy-maid, who is moſt likely her principal companion: nay, the little difference which there is, I am afraid, is not in the favour of the former; who, by being conſtantly flattered with her beauty and her wealth, is made the vaineſt and moſt ſelf-conceited thing alive; at the ſame time that ſuch care is taken to inſtil into her the principles of baſhfulneſs and timidity, that ſhe becomes aſhamed and afraid of ſhe knows not what.

If by any chance this poor creature drops afterwards, as it were, into the world, how abſurd muſt be her behaviour! If a man looks at her, ſhe is confounded; and if he ſpeaks to her, ſhe is frightened out of her wits. She acts, in ſhort, as if ſhe thought the whole ſex was engaged in a conſpiracy to poſſeſs themſelves of her perſon and fortune.

This poor girl, it is true, however ſhe may appear to her own ſex, eſpecially if ſhe is handſome, is rather an object of compaſſion than of juſt ridicule; but what ſhall we ſay when time or marriage have carried off all her baſhfulneſs and fear, and when ignorance, aukwardneſs, and ruſticity, are embelliſhed with the ſame degree, though perhaps not the ſame kind, of affectation, which are to be found in a court? Here ſure is a plentiful ſource of all that various humour

Digitized by Google

mour which we find in the character of a country-gentlewoman.

All this, I apprehend, will be readily allowed; but to deny good-breeding to the town lady, may be the more dangerous attempt. Here, beſides the profeſſors of reading, writing, and dancing, the French and Italian maſters, the muſic-maſter, and of modern times, the whiſt-maſter, all concur in forming this character. The manners-maſters alone, I am afraid, is omitted. And what is the conſequence? not only baſhfulneſs and fear are entirely ſubdued, but modeſty and diſcretion are taken off at the ſame time. So far from running away from, ſhe runs after, the men; and inſtead of bluſhing when a modeſt man looks at her, or ſpeaks to her, ſhe can bear, without any ſuch emotion, to ſtare an impudent fellow in the face, and ſometimes to utter what, if he be not very impudent indeed, may put him to the bluſh.---Hence all thoſe agreeable ingredients which form the humour of a rampant woman of---the town.

I cannot quit this part of my ſubject, in which I have been obliged to deal a little more freely than I am inclined with the loveliеſt part of the creation, without preſerving my own character of good-breeding, by ſaying, that this laſt exceſs, is by much the moſt rare; and that every individual among my female readers either is already, or may be when ſhe pleaſes, an example of a contrary behaviour.

The ſecond general reaſon why humour ſo much abounds in this nation, ſeems to me to ariſe from the great number of people, who are daily raiſed by trade to the rank of gentry, without having had any education at all; or, to uſe no improper phraſe, without having ſerved an apprenticeſhip to this calling. But I have dwelt ſo long on the other branch, that I have no room at preſent to animadvert on this; nor is it indeed neceſſary I ſhould, ſince moſt readers, with the hints I have already given them, will eaſily ſuggeſt to themſelves a great number of humorous characters, with which the public have been furniſhed this way. I ſhall conclude by wiſhing, that this excellent ſource of humour may ſtill continue to flow among us; ſince,

Digitized by Google

though it may make us a little laughed at, it will be sure to make us the envy of all the nations of Europe.

NUMB. 59. SATURDAY, August 15.

------Illachrymabiles
Urgentur, ignotique longa
Nocte, carent quia vate sacro. HOR.

Without a tear they fall, without a name,
Unless some sacred bard records their fame.

THERE is a certain affection of the mind, for which, though it be common enough in the people of this country, we have not, I think, any adequate term in our language. The Greeks, though they likewise want a name for the abstract, called a man so affected ΤΙΕΡΦΡΩΝ, a word which I shall not attempt to translate otherwise than by a paraphrase; I understand by it a man so intoxicated with his own great qualities, that he despises and overlooks all other men. In this sense, the participle passive of the verb ὑπερφρονέω is used in Thucydides, ὑπὸ τῶν εὐπραγόντων ὑπερφρονούμενος. The sentiment is in the mouth of Alcibiades, and it is a very fine one. 'As no 'man,' says he, 'will even speak to us, when we are 'unfortunate, so must they bear in their turn to be 'despised by us when we are intoxicated with our 'successes.'

This disdainful temper, notwithstanding its haughty aspect, proceeds, if I am not much mistaken, from no higher principle than rank timidity. We endeavour to elevate ourselves, and to depress others, lest they should be brought into some competition with ourselves. We are not sufficiently assured of our own footing in the ascent to greatness, and are afraid of suffering any to come too near us, lest they should pull us down, and advance into our place.

Of this pitiful temper of mind, there are no persons so susceptible as the brethren of the quill. Not only

Digitized by Google

only such authors as have been a little singular in their opinions concerning their own merit, and in whom it seems more excuseable to bear a jealous eye towards others; but even those who have far outstripped their fellow-coursers in the race of glory, stretch their scornful eyes behind them, to express their disdain of the poor wretches who are limping and crawling on at however great a distance.

Many are the methods by which this passion is exerted. I shall mention only one, as it is much the most common, and perhaps the most invidious. This is a contemptuous silence; a treatment not much unlike to that with which the Buccaneers formerly used to treat their conquered enemies, when they sunk, or as they phrased it, hid them in the sea.

How many names of great writers may we suppose to have been sunk by this base disposition! Homer, as I remember, hath not perpetuated the memory of a single writer, unless that of Thersites, who was, I make no doubt, from the character given of him in the Iliad, an author of no small estimation. And yet there were probably as many of the function in those days, as there are in this; nay, Homer himself, in his Odyssey, mentions the great honours which poets then received in the courts of all princes, whence we may very reasonably conclude that they swarmed in those courts, and yet the names of three only of his cotemporaries have triumphed over the injuries of time, and the malice of their brethren, so as to reach our age.

The learned Vossius, who seems to have employed no little pains in the matter, hath not been able to preserve to us many more than two hundred down to the death of Cleopatra: and yet we are assured, that the famous Alexandrian library contained no less than six hundred thousand volumes, of which, as the humour of those ages ran, we may conceive a sixth part at least to have consisted of poetry.

Among the Latins how many great names may we suppose to have been hid by the affected taciturnity of Virgil, who appears to have mentioned only those writers of quality to whom he made his court! Of his friend

Digitized by Google

friend Horace, he had not the gratitude to take any notice; much leſs to repay thoſe praiſes which this latter poet had ſo liberally beſtowed on him.

Horace again, though ſo full of compliments to Virgil, of poor Ovid is altogether as cruelly and invidiouſly ſilent.

Ovid, who was, I am confident, one of the beſt-natured of human kind, was of all men moſt profuſe in the praiſes of his co-temporaries; and yet even he hath been guilty of ſinking. Numberleſs were the poets in his time, whoſe names are no where to be found in his works; nay, he hath played the buccaneer with two, one of whom is celebrated by Horace, and both of them by Virgil. The learned reader well knows I mean the illuſtrious names of Bavius and Mævius; whoſe merits were ſo prevalent with Virgil, that though they were both his bitter revilers, he could not refrain from tranſinitting them to poſterity. I wiſh he had dealt as generouſly by all his cenſures, and I make no doubt but we ſhould have been furniſhed with ſome hundreds of names, *quæ nunc premit nox.*

Among our own writers, too many have been guilty of this vice. Had Dryden communicated all thoſe who drew their pens againſt him, he would have preſerved as many names from oblivion as a land-tax act; but he was, I am afraid, ſo intoxicated with his own merit, that he overlooked and deſpiſed all the great ſatyriſts who conſtantly abuſed, I had almoſt ſaid libelled, his works, unleſs they were ſome other way eminent beſides by their writings, ſuch as Shadwell, who was poet laureat, and Buckingham, who was a duke.

Of all the chief favourites and prime miniſters of the muſes, the late ingenious Mr Pope was moſt free from this ſcornful ſilence. He employed a whole work for the purpoſe of recording ſuch writers as no one without his pains, except he had lived at the ſame time, and in the ſame ſtreet, would ever have heard of.

He may indeed be ſaid to have raked many out of the kennels to immortality, which, though in ſomewhat a ſtinking condition, is, to an ambitious mind, preferable

Digitized by Google

preferable to utter obſcurity and oblivion; many, I preſume, having, with the wretch who burnt the Temple of Epheſus, ſuch a love for Fame, that they are willing to creep even into her common ſhore.

In humble imitation of this great man, in the only inſtance in which I am capable of imitating him, I intend ſhortly to attempt a work of the ſame kind, in proſe I mean, and to endeavour to do juſtice to a great number of my co-temporaries, whoſe names, for far the greater part, are much leſs known than they deſerve to be. And that I may be the better enabled to execute this generous purpoſe, I have employed ſeveral proper perſons to find out theſe authors. To this end, I have ordered my bookſeller to ſend me in the names of all thoſe apprentices and journeymen of bookſellers and printers, who at preſent entertain and inſtruct the town with their productions. I have beſides a very able and induſtrious perſon who hath promiſed me a complete liſt of all the hands now confined in the ſeveral Bridewells in and about this city, which carry on the trade of writing, in any of the branches of religion, morality, and government; in all which every day produces us ſome curious eſſay, treatiſe, remarks, *&c.* from thoſe quarters.

I ſhall conclude this paper with ſome very fine lines from the third book of the Dunciad, which gave indeed the firſt hint to my charitable deſign: for what a melancholy conſideration is it, that all theſe armies there ſpoken of, ſhould periſh in the jaws of utter darkneſs, and that the names of ſuch worthies ſhould be as ſhort lived as their works! The verſes are part of the ſpeech of Settle to his ſon Cibber:

'And ſee, my ſon! the hour is on its way,
'That lifts our goddeſs to imperial ſway;
'This fav'rite iſle long ſever'd from her reign,
'Dove-like ſhe gathers to her wings again.
'Now look thro' fate! behold the ſcene ſhe draws!
'What aids, what armies to aſſert her cauſe!
'See all her progeny, illuſtrious ſight!
'Behold, and count them as they riſe to light,

Digitized by Google

'As Berecynthia, while her offspring vye
'In homage to the mother of the sky,
'Surveys around her, in the bless'd abode,
'An hundred sons, and ev'ry son a god:
'Not with less glory mighty Dulness crown'd,
'Shall take thro' Grub-street her triumphant round;
'And her Parnassus glancing o'er at once,
'Behold an hundred sons, and each a dunce.'

NUMB. 60. SATURDAY, August 22.

Τὸν σεαυτῦ μὴ φράσῃς ἔπαινον.

Be not the trumpeter of your own praise.

A FRENCH author, a great favourite of mine, and whom I have often quoted in my lucubrations, observes, 'That it is very common for men to 'talk of themselves, of their children, and their fa-'mily, and always in the terms of commendation. 'But,' says he, 'if those who accustomed themselves 'to such narratives, could conceive how troublesome 'and tiresome they are to the rest of the world, they 'would possibly learn to contain themselves a little 'better, and to shew more complaisance to the patience 'of their hearers. It is moreover matter of great a-'stonishment to me, that men who are perpetually 'praising themselves, scarce ever mention the name 'of another person but in order to abuse it. Per-'haps they intend to avail themselves of the contrast, 'and to recommend their own conduct to general 'approbation, by the censure of their neighbours.'

The motive to the former of these vices is clearly vanity; which, as the ingenious Dr Young says,

'Makes dear self on well-bred tongues prevail,
'And I the little hero of each tale.'

The motive to the latter is malice; and, to say a plain truth, I firmly believe there is no bosom where vanity

Digitized by Google

vanity is to be found in any great degree, which is not at the same time pretty considerably tainted with malice. Praise is a mistress, in the pursuit of which every vain man must have many rivals; and what temper of mind men preserve to a rival, need not to be here repeated.

To both these impulses of mind, there is no man, I am afraid, so liable as the writer. Fame is sometimes his only pursuit; but this is always blended with his other views, even in the most mercenary, and for this simple reason, that it leads directly to pudding. He must at least respect fame, as the Cit in the play doth his reputation, because the loss of it may tend to the loss of money. But in fact, his views are commonly more noble; vanity, not avarice, is the passion he would feed; and there is scarce an inhabitant of Parnassus even among the poor of that parish, who will not be more pleased with one who commends his works, than with one who gives him a dinner; which being the case, it follows of course that they must be all rivals for the aforesaid mistress, and may consequently be all suspected of bearing malice to each other.

Again, there is no writer who can so easily indulge both these inclinations, as the writer of Miscellaneous Essays. It required the genius of Cicero or Bolingbroke, to introduce their own praises into every political oration or pamphlet; or the wit of Lucian, or South, to drag the philosophers and dissenters into almost every subject. But such essayist having a full liberty to write not only what, but on what he pleases, may fill up every page with his own commendations, and with the abuse of all other writers.

When I meditate on these matters, I can scarce refrain from taking some praise to myself; I am even vain enough to think the public have some little obligation to me, for that silence which I have hitherto so inviolably maintained with regard to my own perfections; and perhaps the more candid among my readers would allow some applause to this forbearance, if they knew what a sacrifice I make of my own inclinations, by thus consulting their ease and pleasure; for

Digitized by Google

for surely nothing can equal the satisfaction which a man feels in writing encomiums on himself, unless it be the disgust which every other person is as sure to conceive at reading them.

In this mood of thinking likewise, I am apt to challenge to myself some degree of merit towards my contemporary writers, especially those who write in my own way. As these gentlemen are, I doubt not, well assured of that immoderate envy which I must bear to their great genius and learning, they will certainly acknowledge, that to confine all this to myself, to smother these scorching flames within my own breast, without suffering even a spark to escape, seems a little to deserve their commendation.

But to deal ingenuously on this occasion, I must acknowledge there are some prudential as well as generous motives to this silence. Two considerations may perhaps be suspected of having some little weight, in dissuading a man, even for his own sake, from exhibiting his own praise; first, that he will be sure of being very little read; and, in the next place, of being much less believed. The fear of this latter fate may likewise have some share in prevailing on a man to stifle his envy, notwithstanding all the pleasure which is to be found in giving it vent. However sweet it was to those great men, whose names are recorded in the preface to the Dunciad, and in the Dunciad itself, to abuse the characters of Pope and Swift, and to assert, as they did, that the one wanted humour, and the other was no poet; I much doubt whether they would not have bought their pleasure too dear, at the price of public scorn, even though the former had treated them with the same silent contempt with which they were treated by the latter. For this reason, I shall carefully avoid any satire against the Popes and Swifts of the present age. Though envy of these great men should boil in my own bosom, I will never suffer it to boil over so as to run abroad into the public.

To suppress two such powerful passions as vanity and envy, is by no means an easy task. It requires indeed little less resolution than what animated the Spartan

Digitized by Google

Spartan youth, who concealed a fox under his garment, and rather than he would produce him openly, ſuffered the vermin to gnaw his very bowels. To ſay truth, I am afraid I ſhould not have been able to perſevere ſo long, had I not contrived a certain cunning method of diſcharging myſelf in private; and which, as it is a moſt curious ſecret, I ſhall now communicate for the uſe of others, who, if they purſue the ſame method, will, I doubt not, meet with the ſame ſucceſs.

I will give it by way of receipt; and can truly ſay, it hath every quality with which remedies are uſually recommended; being extremely cheap, eaſy, ſafe, and practicable.

A Receipt to prevent the ill effects of a raging vanity in an Author.

'When the fit is at the higheſt, take of pen, ink, 'and paper, q. ſ. make a panegyric on yourſelf; 'ſtuff it well with all the cardinal virtues; ſeaſon to 'your taſte with wit, humour, and learning. You 'may likewiſe add, as you ſee occaſion, birth, politeneſs, and ſuch like.

'In the choice of your ingredients, be ſure to have 'a particular regard to your ſore part. If your ears 'be ſore with any freſh pulling, or your br---ch with 'any freſh kicking, infuſe a double portion of cou'rage. If you have lately betrayed your ignorance 'ſo groſsly as to make Ovid guilty of two falſe quan'tities in one line, daſh plentifully with learning.

'If you are publickly known to be an infamous 'liar, ſeaſon very high with honour; if you are no'torioufly ſprung from the *dunghill*, take of anceſtors 'from the Engliſh hiſtory at the leaſt half a dozen. '*Et ſic de cæteris.*

'When you have writ your panegyric, you may 'read it as often as you pleaſe; but take care that 'nobody hears you, and then be ſure to---burn your 'panegyric.

'This laſt operation, I own, will cauſe ſome pain: 'but when it is conſidered, that, if you do not burn it

Digitized by Google

'yourſelf, other people will; nay, perhaps, will treat 'it yet worſe, and bring it to a much more diſho- 'nourable and ſtinking end, a wiſe man will ſoon 'force himſelf to the reſolution of putting his pane- 'gyric beyond the reach of malice.

'As to the cure of envy, I need not give the re- 'ceipt for it at length. It is ſufficient to direct the 'choice of the very contrary ingredients; that is to 'ſay, inſtead of all the good, make uſe of all the bad 'qualities both of the head and heart.

'And here likewiſe you are to examine your own 'ſore part; if any man hath ridiculed you with wit 'and humour, take of blockhead, dunce, and fool, 'of each three penfuls. If another hath kicked and 'cuffed you luſtily, be ſure to becoward him well; 'and if the aſſault was in public, before the eyes of 'many gentlemen, the word coward can never be too 'often repeated.

'But with regard to this laſt, great caution muſt 'be had; firſt, that the perſon ſo to be becowarded 'be firſt under a proſecution at law for the aſſault, 'and ſecondly, that he be then out of the kingdom. 'Theſe precautions are however uſeleſs, if you ap- 'ply your ſatire, as you are above adviſed to apply 'your panegyric, I mean to the flames; otherwiſe 'they will be abundantly neceſſary, to prevent your 'ears from being pulled, till they reſemble thoſe of 'the aſs lately expoſed at the Bedford Coffee-houſe.'

I ſhall conclude this paper with two quotations; the firſt is from the mouth of Socrates. 'Never ſpeak 'of yourſelf: for he who commends himſelf is vain; 'and he who abuſes himſelf is abſurd.' The other is from the witty Dr South. 'He adviſes an abuſive 'writer to be, of all others, moſt circumſpect as to 'his own actions, ſeeing he is ſo ſure of meeting with 'no quarter.' A man muſt, indeed, be moſt furi- ouſly mad, who ſets up for a ſatiriſt, when it is ſcarce poſſible for him to diſcharge a ſingle vice at any other, that will not recoil on himſelf. In a word, with my friend Horace, *melius non tangere clamo.* A hint, which thoſe of my contemporary writers, who under-

Digitized by Google

underſtand Latin, will, for the future, I hope, obſerve.

NUMB. 61. SATURDAY, Auguſt 29.

Τὸν ἐλάττω μὴ ἀποσκυβαλίσῃς. CLEOBUL.

Do not deſpiſe your inferiors.

THERE is not in human nature a more odious diſpoſition, than a proneneſs to contempt. Nor is there any which more certainly denotes a bad mind: for in a good and a benign temper, there can be no room for this ſenſation. That which conſtitutes an object of contempt to the malevolent, becomes the object of other paſſions to a worthy and good-natured man: for in ſuch a perſon, wickedneſs and vice muſt raiſe hatred and abhorrence, and weakneſs and folly will be ſure to excite compaſſion; ſo that he will find no object of his contempt, in all the actions of men.

And however deteſtable this quality, which is a mixture of pride and ill-nature, may appear when conſidered in the ſerious ſchool of Heraclitus, it will preſent no leſs abſurd and ridiculous an idea to the laughing ſect of Democritus, eſpecially as we may obſerve, that the meaneſt and baſeſt of all human beings are generally the moſt forward to deſpiſe others. So that the moſt contemptible are generally the moſt contemptuous.

I have often wiſhed that ſome of theſe curious perſons who have employed their time in inquiring into the nature and actions of ſeveral inſects, ſuch as bees and ants, had taken ſome pains to examine whether they are not apt to expreſs any contemptuous behaviour one towards another; the plain ſymptoms of which might poſſibly be diſcovered by the help of microſcopes. It is ſcarce conceivable that the queen bee, amongſt the hundred gallants which ſhe keeps for her own recreation, ſhould not have ſome eſpecial favourites; and it is full as likely, that theſe favourites

Digitized by Google

will so carry themselves towards their brethren, as to display sufficient marks of their contempt to the eye of an accurate discoverer in the manners of the reptile world. For my own part, I have remarked many instances of contempt amongst animals, which I have farther observed to increase in proportion to the decrease of such species, in the rank and order of the animal creation. Mr Ellis informs me that he never could discover any the least indication of contempt in the lions under his care; the horse, I am sorry to say it, gives us some, the ass many more, the turkey-cock more still, and the toad is supposed to burst itself frequently with the violence of this passion. To pursue it gradually downwards would be too tedious. It may be reasonably supposed to arrive at a prodigious height before it descends to the louse. With what a degree of centempt may we conceive that a substantial freeholder of this kind, who is well established in the head of a beggar wench, considers a poor vagabond louse, who hath strayed into the head of a woman of quality, where it is in hourly danger of being arrested by the merciless hands of her woman!

This may perhaps seem to some a very ridiculous image; and as ridiculous, as I apprehend, to a being of a superior order will appear a contemptuous man; one puffed up with some trifling, perhaps fancied superiority, and looking round him with disdain on those who are perhaps so nearly his equals, that, to such a being as I have just mentioned, the difference may be as inconsiderable and imperceptible between the despiser and the despised, as the difference between two of the meanest insects may seem to us.

And as a very good mind, as I have before observed, will give no entertainment to any such affection; so neither will a sensible mind, I am persuaded, find much opportunity to exert it. If men would make but a moderate use of that self-examination, which philosophers and divines have recommended to them, it would tend greatly to the cure of this disposition. Their contempt would then, perhaps, as their charity is said to do, begin at home. To say truth, a man hath

Digitized by Google

hath this better chance of despising himself, than he hath of despising others, as he is likely to know himself best.

But I am sliding into a more serious vein than I intended. In the residue of this paper, therefore, I will confine myself to one particular consideration only; one which will give as ridiculous an idea of contempt, and afford as strong dissuasives against it, as any other which at present suggests itself.

The consideration I mean is, that contempt is, generally at least, mutual, and that there is scarce any one man who despises another without being at the same time despised by him, of which I shall endeavour to produce some few instances.

As the Right Honourable the Lord Squanderfield, at the head of a vast retinue, passes by Mr Moses Buckram, citizen and tailor, in his chaise and one; 'See there!' says my Lord, with an air of the highest contempt, 'that rascal Buckram, with his fat wife, 'I suppose he is going to his country-house; for such 'fellows must have their country-house, as well as their 'vehicle. These are the rascals that complain of want 'of trade.' Buckram, on the other side, is no sooner recovered from the fear of being run over before he could get out of the way, than turning to his wife, he cries, 'Very fine, faith! an honest citizen is to be 'run over by such fellows as these, who drive about 'their coaches and six with other people's money. 'See, my dear, what an equipage he hath, and yet 'he cannot find money to pay an honest tradesman. 'He is above fifteen hundred pounds deep in my 'books; how I despise such lords!'

Lady Fanny Rantun, from the side-box, casting her eyes on an honest pawnbroker's wife below her, bids Lady Betty her companion take notice of that creature in the pit; 'Did you ever see, Laddy Betty,' says she, 'such a strange wretch? how the aukward mon-'ster is dressed!' The good woman at the same time surveying Lady Fanny, and offended, perhaps, at a scornful smile, which she sees in her countenance,---whispers her friend,---'Observe Lady Fanny Rantun. 'As great airs as that fine lady gives herself, my hus-

Digitized by Google

'band hath all her jewels under lock and key. What 'a contemptible thing is poor quality!'

Is there on earth a greater object of contempt than a poor ſcholar to a ſplendid beau; unleſs, perhaps, the ſplendid beau to the poor ſcholar!' the philoſopher and the world, the man of buſineſs and the man of pleaſure, the beauty and the wit, the hypocrite and the profligate, the covetous and ſquanderer, are all alike inſtances of this reciprocal contempt.

Take the ſame obſervations into the loweſt life, and we ſhall find the ſame proneneſs to deſpiſe each other. The common ſoldier who hires himſelf out to be ſhot at for five pence a-day; who is the only ſlave in a free country, and is liable to be ſent to any part of the world without his conſent, and whilſt at home ſubject to the ſevereſt puniſhments, for offences which are not to be found in our law books; yet this noble perſonage looks with a contemptuous air on all his brethren of that order in the commonwealth, whether of mechanics or huſbandmen, from whence he was himſelf taken. On the other hand, however adorned with his brickduſt-coloured cloth, and debaubed with worſted lace of a penny a yard, the very gentleman ſoldier is as much deſpiſed in his turn, by the whiſtling carter, who comforts himſelf, that he is a free Engliſhman, and will live with no maſter any longer than he likes him; nay, and though he never was worth twenty ſhillings in his life, is ready to anſwer a Captain, if he offends him,---'D---n you, Sir, who 'are you? is it not We that pays you?'

This contemptuous diſpoſition is in reality the ſure attendant on a mean and bad mind in every ſtation; on the contrary, a great and good man will be free from it, whether he be placed at the top or bottom of life. I was therefore not a little pleaſed with a rebuke given by a blackſhoe boy, to another, who had expreſſed his contempt of one of the modern townſmarts. 'Why ſhould you deſpiſe him, Jack!' ſaid the honeſt lad. 'We are all what the Lord pleaſed 'to make us.'

I will

Digitized by Google

I will conclude this paper with a ſtory which a gentleman of honour averred to me to be truth. His coach being ſtopt in Piccadilly by two or three carts, which, according to cuſtom, were placed directly acroſs the way; he obſerved a very dirty fellow, who appeared to belong to a mud cart, give another fellow ſeveral laſhes with his whip, and at the ſame time heard him repeat more than once---'D---n you, I 'will teach you manners to your betters.' My friend could not eaſily from theſe words divine what might poſſibly be the ſtation of the unhappy ſufferer, till at length, to the great ſatisfaction of his curioſity, he diſcovered that he was the driver of a duſt-cart drawn by aſſes.

A CHARGE

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

A

CHARGE

DELIVERED TO THE

GRAND JURY,

AT THE

SESSIONS of the PEACE

HELD FOR THE

City and Liberty of Weſtminſter, &c.

On THURSDAY the 29th of June, 1749.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

A

CHARGE

DELIVERED TO THE

GRAND JURY, &c.

Gentlemen of the Grand Jury,

THERE is no part in all the excellent frame of our conſtitution, which an Engliſhman can, I think, contemplate with ſuch delight and admiration; nothing, which muſt fill him with ſuch gratitude to our earlieſt anceſtors, as that branch of Britiſh liberty, from which gentlemen, you derive your authority of aſſembling here on this day.

The inſtitution of Juries, gentlemen, is a privilege which diſtinguiſhes the liberty of Engliſhmen from thoſe of all other nations: for as we find no traces of this in the antiquities of the Jews, or Greeks, or Romans; ſo it is an advantage, which is at preſent ſolely confined to this country; not ſo much, I apprehend, from the reaſons aſſigned by Forteſcue, in his book *de Laudibus*, *cap.* 29. namely, 'becauſe there 'are more huſbandmen, and fewer freeholders, in 'other countries;' as becauſe other countries have leſs of freedom than this; and being for the moſt part ſubjected to the abſolute will of their governors, hold their lives, liberties, and properties, at the diſcretion of thoſe governors, and not under the protection of certain laws. In ſuch countries, it would be abſurd to

Digitized by Google

to look for any ſhare of power in the hands of the people.

And if juries in general be ſo very ſignal a bleſſing to this nation, as Forteſcue in the book I have juſt cited, thinks it: 'A method,' ſays he, 'much more 'available and effectual for the trial of truth, than is 'the form of any other laws of the world, as it is far-'ther from the danger of corruption and ſubornation;' what, gentlemen, ſhall we ſay of the inſtitution of grand juries, by which an Engliſhman, ſo far from being convicted, cannot be even tried, not even put on his trial in any capital caſe, at the ſuit of the crown, unleſs, perhaps, in one or two very ſpecial inſtances, till twelve men at the leaſt have ſaid on their oaths, that there is a probable cauſe for his accuſation! Surely we may in a kind of rapture cry out with Forteſcue, ſpeaking of the ſecond jury, 'Who then can unjuſtly die in England for any cri-'minal offence, ſeeing he may have ſo many helps 'for the favour of his life, and that none may con-'demn him, but his neighbours, good and lawful 'men, againſt whom he hath no manner of excep-'tion?'

To trace the original of this great and ſingular privilege, or to ſay when and how it began, is not an eaſy taſk; ſo obſcure indeed are the footſteps of it through the firſt ages of our hiſtory, that my Lord Hale, and even my Lord Coke, ſeem to have declined it. Nay, this latter, in his account of his ſecond or petty jury, is very ſuccinct; and contents himſelf with ſaying, *Co. Litt.* 155. *b.* that it is very ancient, and before the conqueſt.

Spelman, in his life of Alfred, lib. ii. p. 71. will have that prince to have been the firſt founder of juries; but in truth they are much older, and very probably had ſome exiſtence even among the Britons. The Normans likewiſe had anciently the benefit of juries, as appears in the Cuſtumier de Normandy; and ſomething like grand juries too we find in that book, under the title Suit de Murdyr.

Bracton, who wrote in the reign of Henry the third, in his book *de corona, cap.* 1. gives a plain account

Digitized by Google

count of this matter: and by him it appears, that the grand juries before the juſtices in Eyre differed very little at that time from what they now are, before juſtices aſſigned to keep the peace, oyer and terminer, and goal-delivery, unleſs in the manner of chuſing them, and unleſs in one other reſpect; there being then a grand jury ſworn for every hundred; whereas at preſent one ſerves for the whole county, liberty, *&c.*

But before this time, our anceſtors were ſenſible of the great importance of this privilege, and extremely jealous of it, as appears by the twenty-ninth chapter of the great charter, granted by King John, and confirmed by Henry the third. For thus my Lord Coke, 2 *Inſtit.* 46. expounds that chapter. *Nullus liber homo capiatur*, &c. 'No man ſhall be taken, that is,' ſays he, 'reſtrained of liberty, by petition or ſuggeſtion to 'the king and his council; unleſs it be by indictment 'or preſentment of good and lawful men, where ſuch 'deeds be done.'

And ſo juſt a value have our anceſtors always ſet on this great branch of our liberties, and ſo jealous have they been of any attempt to diminiſh it, that when a commiſſion to puniſh rioters in a ſummary way was awarded in the ſecond year of Richard the ſecond, 'It was,' ſays Mr Lambard in his Eirenarcha, fol. 305. 'even in the ſelf-ſame year of the ſame king, reſumed 'as a thing over-hard (ſays that writer) to be borne, 'that a freeman ſhould be impriſoned without an in- 'dictment, or other trial, by his peers, as Magna 'Charta ſpeaketh; until that the experience of greater 'evils had prepared and made the ſtomach of the com- 'monwealth able and fit to digeſt it.'

And a hard morſel ſurely it muſt have been, when the commonwealth could not digeſt it in that turbulent reign, which, of all others in our hiſtory, ſeems to have afforded the moſt proper ingredients to make it palatable; in a reign moreover when the commonwealth ſeemed to have been capable of ſwallowing and digeſting almoſt any thing; when judges were ſo proſtitute as to acknowledge the king to be above the law; and when a parliament, which even Echard cenſures,

Digitized by Google

and for which Mr Rapin, with a juſter indignation, tells us he knows no name odious enough, made no ſcruple to ſacrifice to the paſſions of the king, and his miniſters, the lives of the moſt diſtinguiſhed lords of the kingdom, as well as the liberties and privileges of the people. Even in that reign, gentlemen, our anceſtors could not, as Mr Lambard remarks, be brought by any neceſſity of the times, to give up, in any ſingle inſtance, this their invaluable privilege.

Another conſiderable attempt to deprive the ſubject of the benefit of grand juries was made in the eleventh year of Henry the ſeventh. The pretence of this act of parliament, was the wilful concealments of grand-jurors, in their inqueſts; and by it 'power was given 'to the juſtices of aſſize in their ſeſſions, and to the 'juſtices of peace in every county, upon information, 'for the king, to hear and determine all offences and 'contempts (ſaving treaſon, murder, or felony) by 'any perſon againſt the effect of any ſtatute.'

My Lord Coke, in his 4th inſtitute, fol. 40. ſets forth this act at large, not as a law which in his time had any force, but *in terrorem;* and, as he himſelf ſays, that the like ſhould never be attempted in any future parliament.

'This act,' ſays Lord Coke, 'had a fair flattering 'preamble; but, in the execution, tended diametri-'cally contrary; *viz.* to the high diſpleaſure of Al-'mighty God; and to the great let, nay, the utter 'ſubverſion of the common law; namely, by depri-'ving the ſubject of that great privilege of being in-'dicted and tried by a jury of their countrymen.'

By pretext of this law, ſays the great writer I have juſt cited, Empſon and Dudley did commit upon the ſubject inſufferable preſſures and oppreſſions. And we read in hiſtory, that, ſoon after the act took place, Sir William Capel, Alderman of London, who was made the firſt object of its tyranny, was fined two thouſand ſeven hundred pounds, ſixteen hundred of which he actually paid to the king, by way of compoſition. A vaſt ſum in thoſe days, to be impoſed for a crime ſo minute, that ſcarce any notice is taken of it in hiſtory.

Our

Digitized by Google

Our anceſtors, however, bore not long this invaſion on their liberties; for in the very firſt year of King Henry VIII. this flagitious act was repealed, and the adviſers of all the extortions committed by it were deſervedly ſacrificed to the public reſentment.

Gentlemen, I ſhall mention but two more attacks on this moſt valuable of all our liberties; the firſt of which was indeed the greateſt of all, I mean that curſed court of Star-chamber, which was erected under the ſame king.

I ſhall not before you, gentlemen, enter into a conteſt with my Lord Coke, whether this court had a much older exiſtence, or whether it firſt begun under the ſtatute of 3d Henry VII. For my part, I clearly think the latter:

I. Becauſe the ſtatute which erects it mentions no ſuch court as then exiſting, and moſt manifeſtly ſpeaks the language of creation, not of confirmation.

II. Becauſe it was expreſsly ſo underſtood by the judges, within five years after the ſtatute was made, as appears by the year-book of 8th Henry VII. *Paſch.* fol. 13. *Plac.* 7.

Laſtly, Becauſe all our hiſtorians and law-writers before that time are ſilent concerning any ſuch court; for as to the records and acts of parliament cited by my Lord Coke, they are moſt evidently to be applied only to the king and council, to whom, in old time, complaints were, in very extraordinary caſes, preferred.

This old court, my Lord Coke himſelf confeſſes, ſat very rarely; ſo rarely indeed, that there are no traces left of its proceedings, at leaſt of any ſuch as were afterwards had under the authority of the ſtatute. Had this court had an original exiſtence in the conſtitution, I do not ſee why the great lawyer is ſo ſevere againſt the before-mentioned act of the 11th of Henry VII. or how he can, with any propriety, call the liberty of being accuſed and tried only by juries, the birth-right of an Engliſh ſubject.

The other inſtance was that of the High-commiſſion court, inſtituted by parliament in the firſt year of Queen Elizabeth.

Digitized by Google

This act likewise pretends to refer to an authority in being. The title of it is, An Act restoring to the crown the ancient jurisdiction, *&c.* By which, saith Lord Coke, 4th Inst. 325. the nature of the act doth appear, *viz.* that it is an act of restitution.

And hence the court of Common Pleas, in the reign of James I. well argued, that the act being meant to restore to the crown the ancient ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the commissioners could derive no other power from it than before belonged to that ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

But however necessary, as my Lord Coke says, 4th Inst. 326. this act might have been at its first creation, or however the intention of the legislature might have been to restrain it, either as to time or persons, certain it is, that the commissioners extended its jurisdiction in many cases, to the great grievance of the subject, and to the depriving them of that privilege which I have just mentioned to be the birth-right of an Englishman.

The uses made of these courts, and particularly under that unhappy prince, Charles I. need not be mentioned. They are but too well known. Let it suffice, that the spirit of our ancestors at last prevailed over these invasions of their liberties, and these courts were for ever abolished.

And, gentlemen, if we have just reason to admire the great bravery and steadiness of those our ancestors, in defeating all the attempts of tyranny against this excellent branch of our constitution, we shall have no less reason, I apprehend, to extol that great wisdom, which they have from time to time demonstrated, in well ordering and regulating their juries, so as to preserve them as clear as possible from all danger of corruption. In this light, gentlemen, we ought to consider the several laws by which the morals, the character, the substance, and good demeanor of jurors are regulated. These jurors, gentlemen, must be good and lawful men, of reputation and substance, in their county, chosen at the nomination of neither party, absolutely disinterested and indifferent in the cause which they are to try. Upon the whole, the excellence

Digitized by Google

excellence of our conſtitution, and the great wiſdom of our laws, which Forteſcue, my Lord Coke, and many other great writers, have ſo highly extolled, is in no one inſtance ſo truly admirable as in this inſtitution of our juries.

I hope, gentlemen, I ſhall not be thought impertinent, in having taken up ſo much of your time to ſhew you the great dignity and importance of that office which you are now aſſembled here to execute; the duties of which it is incumbent on me conciſely to open to you: and this I ſhall endeavour in the beſt manner I am able.

The duty, gentlemen, of a grand juror, is to inquire of all crimes and miſdemeanors whatſoever, which have been committed in the county or liberty for which he ſerves as a grand juror, and which are anywiſe cognizable by the court in which he is ſworn to inquire.

And this inquiry is in a two-fold manner, by way of indictment, and by way of preſentment.

Which two words, Mr Lambard, fol. 461. thus explains:

'A preſentment,' ſays he, 'I take to be a mere determination of the jurors themſelves; and an indictment 'is the verdict of the jurors, grounded upon the accuſation of a third perſon; ſo that a preſentment is but 'a declaration of the jurors, without any bill offered 'before; and an indictment is their finding of a bill of 'accuſation to be true.'

The uſual method of charge hath been to run over the ſeveral articles, or heads of crimes, which might poſſibly become ſubject to the inquiry of the grand jury.

This, we find in Bracton, who writ ſo long ago as the reign of Henry III. was the practice of the juſtices in Eyre. l. iii. c. 1. And my Lord Coke ſays, 4 Inſt. 183. that the charge to be given at the ſeſſions of the peace conſiſteth of two parts; laws eccleſiaſtical for the peace of the church, and laws civil and temporal for the peace of the land. And Mr Lambard, in his Eirenarcha, gives the whole form of the charge

Digitized by Google

at length, in which he recapitulates every article which was at that time inquirable in the seſſions.

But, gentlemen, I think I may be excuſed at preſent from taking up ſo much of your time; for though we are aſſembled to exerciſe the juriſdiction of a very antient and honourable liberty, yet, as there is another ſeſſions of juſtices within that county of which this liberty is a part, before whom indictments for all crimes of the deeper dye are uſually preferred, it ſeems rather to ſavour of oſtentation than utility, to run over thoſe articles which in great probability will not come before you.

And indeed a perfect knowledge of the law in theſe matters is not neceſſary to a grand juror; for in all caſes of indictments, whether for a greater or leſſer, a public or private crime, the buſineſs of a grand jury is only to attend to the evidence for the king; and if on that evidence there ſhall appear a probable cauſe for the accuſation, they are to find the bill true, without liſtening to any circumſtances of defence, or to any matter of law.

And therefore my Lord Hale, vol. II. fol. 158. puts this caſe: 'If A. be killed by B. ſo that the perſon 'of the ſlayer and ſlain be certain, and a bill of mur- 'der be preſented to the grand jury, regularly they 'ought to find the bill for murder, and not for man- 'ſlaughter, or *ſe defendendo*; becauſe otherwiſe offence 'may be ſmothered without due trial; and when the 'party comes on his trial, the whole fact will be exa- 'mined before the court and the petty jury; for if 'a man kills B. in his own defence, or *per infortu- 'nium*, or poſſibly in executing the proceſs of law 'upon an aſſault made upon him, or in his own de- 'fence on the highway, or in defence of his houſe 'againſt thoſe that come to rob him (in which three 'laſt caſes it is neither felony nor forfeiture, but, up- 'on not guilty pleaded, he ought to be acquitted) yet 'if the grand inqueſt find an *ignoramus* upon the bill, 'or find the ſpecial matter, whereby the priſoner is 'diſmiſſed and diſcharged, he may nevertheleſs be in- 'dicted for murder ſeven years after; whereas, if 'upon a proper finding he had been acquitted, he

'could

Digitized by Google

'could never afterwards be again arraigned without 'having the plea of *autrefois acquit*.'

This doctrine of the learned chief justice you will apply to whatever case may come before you: for wherever you shall find probable cause, upon the oaths of the king's witnesses, you will not discharge your office without finding the bill to be true, shewing no regard to the nature of the crime, or the degree of the guilt; which are matters proper for the cognizance and determination of the court only.

I must not however omit, on the authority of the last-mentioned judge, H. P. C. ii. 157. 'that if, 'upon the hearing the king's evidence, or upon your 'own knowledge of the incredibility of the witnesses, 'you shall be dissatisfied, you may then return the 'bill *ignoramus*.'

It is true, my Lord Hale confines this to indictments for capital offences; but I see no reason why it may not be extended to any indictment whatever.

One caution more occurs on this head of indictment; and it is the duty of secrecy. To have revealed the king's counsel disclosed to the grand jurors was formerly taken to be felony; nay, justice Shard, in the 27th year of the book of assizes, Placit. 63. doubted whether it was not treason; and though at this day the law be not so severe, yet is this still a very great misdemeanor, and fineable as such, and is moreover a manifest breach of your oath.

I come now, gentlemen, to the second branch of your duty; namely, that of presenting all offences which shall come to your knowledge.

And this is much more painful, and of greater difficulty, than the former; for here you are obliged, without any direct accusation, to inform yourselves as well as possible of the truth of the fact, and in some measure likewise to be conusant of those laws which subject offences to your presentment.

Upon this head, therefore, I shall beg leave to remind you of those articles which seem to be most worthy of your inquiry at this time: for indeed it would be useless and tedious to enumerate the whole catalogue of misdemeanors that are to be found in our statutes;

Digitized by Google

ſtatutes; many of which, though ſtill in force, are, by the changes of times and faſhions, become antiquated, and of little uſe. *Ceſſante ratione legis, ceſſat & ipſa lex;* and there are ſome accidental and temporary evils, which at particular ſeaſons have, like an epidemic diſtemper, affected ſociety, but have afterwards diſappeared, or at leaſt made very faint efforts to corrupt the public morals. The laws made to ſuppreſs ſuch, though very wholeſome and neceſſary at the time of their creation, become obſolete with the evil which occaſioned them, and which they were intended to cure. But, gentlemen, there are evils of a more durable kind, which rather reſemble chronical than epidemic diſeaſes; and which have ſo inveterated themſelves in the blood of the body politic, that they are perhaps never to be totally eradicated. Theſe it will be always the duty of the magiſtrate to palliate and keep down as much as poſſible. And theſe, gentlemen, are the miſdemeanors of which you are to preſent as many as come to your knowledge.

And, firſt, gentlemen, I will remind you of preſenting all offences committed immediately againſt the Divine Being; for though all crimes do include in them ſome degree of ſin, and may therefore be conſidered as offences againſt the Almighty; yet there are ſome more directly levelled at his honour, and which the temporal laws do puniſh as ſuch.

And, 1. All blaſphemous expreſſions againſt any one of the ſacred perſons in the Trinity, are ſeverely puniſhable by the common law; for, as my Lord Hale ſays, in Taylor's caſe, 1 Vent. 293. 3 Keb. 607. 621. S. C. 'Such kind of wicked blaſphemous words are 'not only an offence againſt God and religion, but a 'crime againſt the laws, ſtate, and government;' and in that caſe the defendant for blaſphemy, too horrible indeed to be repeated, was ſentenced to ſtand three times in the pillory, to pay a great fine, and to find ſecurity for his good behaviour during life.

In like manner, all ſcandalous and contemptuous words ſpoken againſt our holy religion, are, by the wiſdom of the common law, made liable to an indict-

ment;

Digitized by Google

ment; for 'Chriſtianity,' ſays that excellent chief-juſtice, in the caſe I have juſt cited, 'is parcel of the 'laws of England; therefore, to reproach the Chri-'ſtian religion is to ſpeak in ſubverſion of the law.' And to the ſame purpoſe is Attwood's caſe, in Cro. Jac. 421. where one was indicted before the juſtices of peace for ſaying, that the religion now profeſſed was a new religion within fifty years, *&c.* For as to the doubt concerning the high commiſſioners, ſtarted in that caſe, and then, as it appears, over-ruled, that is now vaniſhed.

Nor are our ſtatutes ſilent concerning this dreadful offence; particularly by 1 Eliz. c. 2. § 9. a ſevere puniſhment is enacted for any perſon, who ſhall, in any interludes, plays, ſongs, rhimes, or by other open words, declare or ſpeak any thing in derogation, depraving or deſpiſing the book of common prayer, *&c.*

Mr Lambard, I find, mentions this act in his charge, though the execution of it be in the counties confined to the juſtices of Oyer and Terminer, and of aſſize; but the 22d ſection of the ſtatute ſeems to give a clear juriſdiction to this court, at two of our quarter ſeſſions.

The laſt offence of this kind, which the wicked tongue of man can commit, is by profane curſing and ſwearing. This is a ſin expreſsly againſt the law delivered by God himſelf to the Jews, and which is as expreſsly prohibited by our bleſſed Saviour in his ſermon on the mount.

Many ſtatutes have been made againſt this offence; and by the laſt of theſe, which was enacted in the nineteenth year of the preſent king, every day-labourer, common ſoldier, common ſailor, and common ſeaman, forfeits one ſhilling; every other perſon, under the degree of a gentleman, two ſhillings; and every perſon, of or above that degree, five ſhillings.

And in caſe any perſon ſhall after ſuch conviction offend again, he forfeits double; and for every offence after a ſecond conviction, treble.

Though the execution of this act be intruſted to one ſingle magiſtrate, and no juriſdiction, unleſs by appeal, given to the ſeſſions; yet I could not forbear mentioning

Digitized by Google

mentioning it here, when I am ſpeaking in the preſence of many peace-officers, who are to forfeit forty ſhillings for neglecting to put the act in execution. And I mention it the rather to inform them, that whenever the offender is unknown to any conſtable, petty conſtable, tithingman, or other peace-officer, ſuch conſtable, *&c.* is empowered by the act, without any warrant, to ſeize and detain any ſuch perſon, and forthwith to carry him before the next magiſtrate.

And if theſe officers would faithfully diſcharge the duty thus enjoined them, and which religion as well as the law requires of them, our ſtreets would ſoon ceaſe to reſound with this deteſtable crime, ſo injurious to the honour of God, ſo directly repugnant to his poſitive commands, ſo highly offenſive to the ears of all good men, and ſo very ſcandalous to the nation in the ears of foreigners.

Having diſpatched thoſe miſdemeanors (the principal ones at leaſt) which are immediately committed againſt God, I come now to ſpeak of thoſe which are committed againſt the perſon of the king, which perſon the law wiſely holds to be ſacred.

Beſides thoſe heinous offences againſt this ſacred perſon which are puniſhed *ultimo ſupplicio*, there are many articles, ſome of which involve the criminal in the guilt of præmunire, and others are conſidered in law as miſpriſions or contempts. The former of theſe is by Mr Serjeant Hawkins, in his Pleas of the Crown, divided into two general heads, *viz.*

Into offences againſt the crown,
And offences againſt the authority of the king and parliament.

Under the former head he enumerates nine ſeveral articles; but as theſe chiefly relate to ſuch invaſions of the royal prerogative as were either made in popiſh ages in favour of the biſhops of Rome, or in thoſe times which bordered on the Reformation in favour of the Church of Rome, and are not practiſed, at leaſt not openly practiſed, in theſe days, I ſhall have no need to repeat them here.

Under the latter head he mentions only one, which was enacted in the reign of Queen Anne, 6 Ann. c. 7.

If

Digitized by Google

'If any perſon ſhall maliciouſly and directly, by 'preaching, teaching, or adviſed ſpeaking, declare, 'maintain, and affirm, that the pretended Prince of 'Wales hath any right or title to the crown of theſe 'realms, or that any other perſon or perſons hath or 'have any right or title to the ſame, otherwiſe than 'according to the acts of ſettlement: or that the 'kings or queens of this realm, with the authority of 'parliament, are not able to make laws to limit the 'crown and the deſcent, &c. thereof, ſhall incur a 'præmunire.'

A moſt wholeſome and neceſſary law. And yet ſo mild hath been our government, that I remember no one inſtance of putting it in execution.

Miſpriſions or contempts are againſt the king's prerogative, againſt his title, or againſt his ſacred perſon or government.

Under theſe heads will fall any act of public and avowed diſobedience; any denying his moſt juſt and lawful title to the crown; any overt act which directly tends to encourage or promote rebellion or ſedition; all falſe rumours againſt his Majeſty, or his councils; all contemptuous language concerning his ſacred perſon, by curſing, reviling him, &c. or by uttering any thing which manifeſts an intention of leſſening that eſteem, awe, and reverence, which ſubjects ought to bear to the beſt of princes.

Theſe are offences, gentlemen, which I muſt earneſtly recommend to your inquiry. This, gentlemen, is your duty as grand jurors; and it muſt be a moſt pleaſing taſk to you as you are Engliſhmen; for in proportion as you love and eſteem your liberties, you will be fired with love and reverence towards a prince, under whoſe adminiſtration you enjoy them in the fulleſt and ampleſt manner.

Believe me, gentlemen, notwithſtanding all which the malice of the diſappointed, the madneſs of republicans, or the folly of Jacobites may inſinuate, there is but one method to maintain the liberties of this country, and that is, to maintain the crown on the heads of that family which now happily enjoys it.

If ever ſubjects had reaſon to admire the juſtice of that

Digitized by Google

that ſentiment of the poet Claudian, 'That liberty 'never flouriſhes ſo happily as under a good king,' we have reaſon at preſent for that admiration.

I am afraid, gentlemen, this word Liberty, though ſo much talked of, is but little underſtood. What other idea can we have of liberty, than that it is the enjoyment of our lives, our perſons, and our properties in ſecurity; to be free maſters of ourſelves and our poſſeſſions, as far as the known laws of our country will admit; to be liable to no puniſhment, no confinement, no loſs, but what thoſe laws ſubject us to! Is there any man ignorant enough to deny that this is the deſcription of a free people; or baſe enough to accuſe me of panegyric, when I ſay this is our preſent happy condition?

But if the bleſſing of liberty, like that of health, be not to be perceived by thoſe who enjoy it, or at leaſt muſt be illuſtrated by its oppoſite, let us compare our own condition with that of other countries; of thoſe whoſe polity ſome among us pretend ſo much to admire, and whoſe government they ſeem ſo ardently to affect. *Lettres de cachet*, Baſtiles, and inquiſitions, may, perhaps, give us a livelier ſenſe of a juſt and mild adminiſtration, than any of the bleſſings we enjoy under it.

Again, gentlemen, let us compare the preſent times with the paſt. And here I need not reſort back to thoſe diſtant ages, when our unhappy forefathers petitioned their conqueror, 'that he would not make 'them ſo miſerable, nor be ſo ſevere to them, as to 'judge them by a law they underſtood not.' Theſe are the very words, as we find them preſerved in Daniel; in return to which, the hiſtorian informs us, nothing was obtained but fair promiſes. I ſhall not dwell here on the tyranny of his immediate ſucceſſor, of whom the ſame hiſtorian records, that 'ſeeking to 'eſtabliſh abſolute power by force, he made both 'himſelf and his people miſerable.'

I need not, gentlemen, here remind you of the oppreſſions under which our anceſtors have groaned in many other reigns, to ſhake off which the ſword of civil war was firſt drawn in the reign of king John, which

Digitized by Google

which was not entirely sheathed during many successive generations.

I might, perhaps, have a fairer title to your patience, in laying open the tyrannical proceedings of later times, while the crown was possessed by four successive princes of the house of Stuart. But this, gentlemen, would be to trespass on your patience indeed: for to mention all their acts of absolute power, all their attempts to subvert the liberties of this nation, would be to relate to you the history of their reigns.

In a word, gentlemen, all the struggles which our ancestors have so bravely maintained with ambitious princes, and particularly with the last-mentioned family, was to maintain and preserve to themselves and their posterity, that very liberty which we now enjoy, under a prince to whom I may truly apply what the philosopher long ago said of Virtue, 'That all 'who truly know him must love him.'

The third general head of misdemeanors, gentlemen, is of those which are committed against the subject; and these may be divided into two branches.

Into such as are committed against individuals only:
And into such as affect the public in general.

The former of these will probably come before you by way of indictment; for men are apt enough to revenge their own quarrels; but offences *in commune nocumentum* do not so certainly find an avenger; and thus those crimes, which it is the duty of every man to punish, do often escape with impunity.

Of these, gentlemen, it may be therefore proper to awaken your inquiry, and particularly of such as do in a more especial manner infest the public at this time.

The first of this kind is the offence of profligate lewdness; a crime of very pernicious nature to society, as it tends to corrupt the morals of our youth, and is expressly prohibited by the law of God, under the denunciation of the severest judgment, in the New Testament. Nay, we read in the 25th chapter of Numbers the exceeding wrath of God against the children of Israel for their fornication with the daugh-

Digitized by Google

ters of Moab. Nor did the plague, which on that occasion was sent among them, and which destroyed four-and-twenty thousand, cease, till Phinehas, the son of Eleazer, and grandson of Aaron, had slain the Israelite together with his harlot.

And this, gentlemen, though a spiritual offence, and of a very high nature too, as appears from what I have mentioned, is likewise a temporal crime, and, as Mr Lambard (122) says, against the peace.

My Lord Coke, in his third Institute, 206, tells us, that, in ancient times, adultery and fornication were punished by fine and imprisonment, and were inquirable in turns and leets. And in the year-book of Henry VII. 1 H. VII. fol. 6. plac. 3. we find the custom of London pleaded for a constable to seize a woman taken in the act of adultery, and to carry her to prison.

And though later times have given up this matter in general to ecclesiastical jurisdiction, yet there are two species which remain at this day cognizable by the common law.

The first is, an open act of lewdness and indecency in public, to the scandal of good manners.

And therefore in Michaelmas term, 15 Car. II. B. R. Sir Charles Sidney was indicted for having exposed himself naked in a balcony in Covent-Garden, to a great multitude of people, with many indecent words and actions; and this was laid to be contrary to the King's peace, and to the great scandal of Christianity. He confessed the indictment; and Siderfin, 1 Sid. 168. who reports the case, tells us, that the court, in consideration of his embarrassed fortune, fined him only two thousand marks, with a short imprisonment, and to be bound three years to his good behaviour; an infamous punishment for a gentleman, but far less infamous than the offence. If any facts of this nature shall come to your knowledge, you will, I make no doubt, present them, without any respect to persons. Sex or quality may render the crime more atrocious, and the example more pernicious, but can give no sanction to such infamous offences, nor will, I hope, ever give impunity.

The

Digitized by Google

The second species which falls under this head, is the crime of keeping a brothel or bawdy-house. This is a kind of common nuisance, and is punishable by the common law.

It is true, that certain houses of this kind, under the name of public stews, have been sometimes tolerated in Christian countries, to the great scandal of our religion, and in direct contradiction to its positive precepts: but in the thirty-seventh year of Henry the eighth, they were all suppressed by proclamation. And those infamous women who inhabited them were not, says Lord Coke, either buried in Christian burial when they were dead, or permitted to receive the rites of the church while they lived.

And, gentlemen, notwithstanding the favour which the law in many cases extends to married women, yet in this case the wife is equally indictable, and may be found guilty with her husband.

Nor is it necessary that the person be master or mistress of the whole house; for if he or she have only a single room, and will therewith accommodate lewd people to perpetrate acts of uncleanness, they may be indicted for keeping a bawdy-house. And this was the resolution of the whole court, in the Queen and Peirson. Salk. 332.

Nor is the guilt confined to those who keep such houses; those who frequent them are no less liable to the censure of the law. Accordingly we find, in the select cases printed at the end of Lord Ch. J. Popham's reports, that a man was indicted in the beginning of the reign of Charles the first, at the sessions of the peace for the town of Northampton, for frequenting a suspected bawdy-house. And the indictment being removed into the King's-bench, several objections were taken to it, which were all over-ruled, judgment was given upon it, and the defendant fined.

If you shall know, therefore, gentlemen, of any such crimes, it will be your duty to present them to the court.

For however light this offence may be thought or spoken of by idle and dissolute persons, it is a matter

Digitized by Google

of ſerious and weighty conſideration. 'It is the cauſe, ſays my Lord Coke, 'of many miſchiefs, the faireſt 'end whereof is beggary; and tends directly to the 'overthrow of mens bodies, to the waſting of their 'livelihoods, and to the endangering of their ſouls.'

To eradicate this vice out of ſociety, however it may be the wiſh of ſober and good men, is, perhaps, an impoſſible attempt; but to check its progreſs, and to ſuppreſs the open and more profligate practice of it, is within the power of the magiſtrate, and it is his duty. And this is more immediately incumbent upon us, in an age when brothels are become in a manner the ſeminaries of education, and that eſpecially of thoſe youths, whoſe birth makes their right inſtitution of the utmoſt conſequence to the future well-being of the public: for whatever may be the education of theſe youths, however vitiated and enervated their minds and bodies may be with vices and diſeaſes, they are born to be the governors of our poſterity. If, therefore, through the gregious folly of their parents, this town is to be the ſchool of ſuch youths, it behoves us, gentlemen, to take as much care as poſſible to correct the morals of that ſchool.

And, gentlemen, there are other houſes, rather leſs ſcandalous, perhaps, but equally dangerous to the ſociety; in which houſes the manners of youth are greatly tainted and corrupted. Theſe are thoſe places of public rendezvous, where idle perſons of both ſexes meet in a very diſorderly manner, often at improper hours, and ſometimes in diſguiſed habits. Theſe houſes, which pretend to be the ſcenes of innocent diverſion and amuſement, are in reality the temples of iniquity. Such meetings are *contra bonos mores*; they are conſidered in law in the nature of a nuiſance, and, as ſuch, the keepers and maintainers of them may be preſented and puniſhed.

There is great difference, gentlemen, between a moroſe and over-ſanctified ſpirit which excludes all kind of diverſion, and a profligate diſpoſition which hurries us into the moſt vicious exceſſes of this kind. 'The common law,' ſays Mr Pulton in his excellent treatiſe De Pace, fol. 25. b. 'allows many recre-

'ations,

Digitized by Google

'ations, which be not with intent to break or disturb 'the peace, or to offer violence, force, or hurt to 'the person of any; but either to try activity, or to 'increase society, amity, and neighbourly friendship.' He there enumerates many sorts of innocent diversions of the rural kind, and which, for the most part, belong to the lower sort of people. For the upper part of mankind, and in this town, there are many lawful amusements, abundantly sufficient for the recreation of any temperate and sober mind. But, gentlemen, so immoderate are the desires of many, so hungry is their appetite for pleasure, that they may be said to have a fury after it; and diversion is no longer the recreation or amusement, but the whole business of their lives. They are not content with three theatres, they must have a fourth; where the exhibitions are not only contrary to law, but contrary to good manners, and where the stage is reduced back again to that degree of licentiousness, which was too enormous for the corrupt state of Athens to tolerate; and which, as the Roman poet, rather, I think, in the spirit of a censor than a satyrist, tells us, those Athenians, who were not themselves abused, took care to abolish, from their concern for the public.

Gentlemen, our news-papers, from the top of the page to the bottom, the corners of our streets up to the very eves of our houses, present us with nothing but a view of masquerades, balls, and assemblies of various kinds, fairs, wells, gardens, *&c.* tending to promote idleness, extravagance, and immorality, among all sorts of people.

This fury after licentious and luxurious pleasures is grown to so enormous a height, that it may be called the characteristic of the present age. And it is an evil, gentlemen, of which it is neither easy nor pleasant to foresee all the consequences. Many of them, however, are obvious; and these are so dreadful, that they will, I doubt not, induce you to use your best endeavours to check the further increase of this growing mischief; for the rod of the law, gentlemen, must restrain those within the bonds of de-

Digitized by Google

cency and ſobriety, who are deaf to the voice of reaſon, and ſuperior to the fear of ſhame.

Gentlemen, there are another ſort of theſe temples of iniquity, and theſe are gaming-houſes. This vice, gentlemen, is unſeparable from a luxurious and idle age; for while luxury produces want, idleneſs forbids honeſt labour to ſupply it. All ſuch houſes are nuiſances in the eye of the common law; and ſevere puniſhments, as well on thoſe who keep them, as on thoſe who frequent and play at them, are inflicted by many ſtatutes. Of theſe houſes, gentlemen, you will, I doubt not, inquire with great diligence; for though poſſibly there may be ſome offenders out of your reach, yet if thoſe within it be well and ſtrictly proſecuted, it may, perhaps, in time have ſome effect on the others. Example in this caſe may, contrary to its general courſe, move upwards; and men may become aſhamed of offending againſt thoſe laws with impunity, by which they ſee their inferiors brought to puniſhment. But if this effect ſhould not be produced, yet, gentlemen, there is no reaſon why you ſhould not exert your duty as far as you are able, becauſe you cannot extend it as far as you deſire. And to ſay the truth, to prevent gaming among the lower ſort of people, is principally the buſineſs of ſociety; and for this plain reaſon, becauſe they are the moſt uſeful members of the ſociety; which, by ſuch means, will loſe the benefit of their labour. As for the rich and great, the conſequence is generally no other than the exchange of property from the hands of a fool into thoſe of a ſharper, who is, perhaps, the more worthy of the two to enjoy it.

I will mention only one article more, and that of a very high nature indeed. It is, gentlemen, the offence of libelling, which is puniſhed by the common law, as it tends immediately to quarrels and breaches of the peace, and very often to bloodſhed and murder itſelf.

The puniſhment of this offence, ſaith my Lord Coke, is fine or impriſonment; and if the caſe be exorbitant, by pillory and loſs of ears.

And, gentlemen, even the laſt of theſe judgments will appear extremely mild, if we conſider, in the firſt place,

Digitized by Google

place, the atrocious temper of mind from which this proceeds.

Mr Pulton, in the beginning of his treatise *De Pace*, says of a libeller, 'that he is a secret canker, 'which concealeth his name, hideth himself in a 'corner, and privily stingeth his neighbour in his 'fame, reputation, and credit; who neither knows 'from whom, nor from what cause he receiveth his 'blows, nor hath any means to defend himself.' And my Lord Coke, in his 5th Report (125) compares him to a poisoner, who is the meanest, the vilest, and most dangerous of all murderers. Nor can I help repeating to you a most beautiful passage in the great orator Demosthenes, who compares this wretch to a viper, which men ought to crush where-ever they find him, without staying till he bite them.

In the second place, if we consider the injury done by these libellers, it must raise the indignation of every honest and good man: for what is this, but, as Mr Pulton says, 'a note of infamy, intended 'to defame the person at whom it is levelled, to tread 'his honour and estimation in the dust, to extirpate 'and root out his reputation from the face of the 'earth, to make him a scorn to his enemies, and to 'be derided and despised by his neighbour?'

If praise, and honour, and reputation, be so highly esteemed by the highest and best of men, that they are often the only rewards which they propose to themselves from the noblest actions; if there be nothing too difficult, too dangerous, or too disagreeable for men to encounter, in order to acquire and preserve these rewards; what a degree of wickedness and barbarity must it be unjustly and wantonly to strip men of that on which they place so high a value?

Nor is reputation to be considered as a chimerical good, or as merely the food of vanity and ambition. Our worldly interests are closely connected with our fame: by losing this, we are deprived of the chief comforts of society, particularly of that which is most dear to us, the friendship and love of all good and virtuous men. Nay, the common law indulged so great

Digitized by Google

great a privilege to men of good reputation in their neighbourhood, that in many actions the defendant's word was taken in his own cauſe, if he could bring a certain number of his neighbours to vouch that they believed him.

On the contrary, whoever robs us of our good name, doth not only expoſe us to public contempt and avoidance, but even to puniſhment: for by the ſtatute 34 Edw. III. c. 1. the juſtices of the peace are empowered and directed to bind all ſuch as be not of good fame to their good behaviour, and, if they cannot find ſufficient ſureties, they may be committed to priſon.

Seeing, therefore, the execrable miſchiefs perpetrated by this ſecret canker, this viper, this poiſoner, in ſociety, we ſhall not wonder to hear him ſo ſeverely condemned in ſcripture; nor that Ariſtotle in his Politics ſhould mention ſlander as one of thoſe great evils which it is difficult for a legiſlature to guard againſt; that the Athenians puniſhed it with a very ſevere and heavy fine, and the Romans with death.

But though the libeller of private perſons be ſo deteſtable a vermin, yet is the offence ſtill capable of aggravation, when the poiſon is ſcattered upon public perſons and magiſtrates. All ſuch reflections are, as my Lord Coke obſerves, a ſcandal on the government itſelf: and ſuch ſcandal tends not only to the breach of the peace, but to raiſe ſeditions and inſurrections among the whole body of the people.

And, gentlemen, the higher and greater the magiſtrates be againſt whom ſuch ſlanders are propagated, the greater is the danger to the ſociety; and ſuch we find to have been the ſenſe of the legiſlature in the ſecond year of Richard II. For in the ſtatute of that year, chap. 5. it is ſaid, 'that by ſuch means diſ-'cord may ariſe between the Lords and Commons, 'whereof great peril and miſchief might come to 'all the realm, and quick ſubverſion and deſtruction 'of the ſaid realm.' And of ſuch conſequence was this apprehended to be, that we find no leſs than four ſtatutes

Digitized by Google

ſtatutes to prohibit and puniſh it; *viz.* Weſtm. I. c. 33. 2 R. II. c. 5. 12 R. II. 11. and 2 and 3 P. & M. c. 12. By this laſt ſtatute a juriſdiction was given to the juſtices of peace to inquire of all ſuch offences; and if it was by book, ballad, letter, or writing, the offender's right hand was to be ſtricken off for the firſt offence, and for the ſecond he was to incur a præmunire.

This laſt ſtatute was afterwards prolonged in the laſt year of Queen Mary, and in the firſt of Elizabeth, during the life of that princeſs, and of the heirs of her body.

I have mentioned theſe laws to you, gentlemen, to ſhew you the ſenſe of our anceſtors of a crime, which, I believe, they never ſaw carried to ſo flagitious a height as it is at preſent; when, to the ſhame of the age be it ſpoken, there are men who make a livelihood of ſcandal. Moſt of theſe are perſons of the loweſt rank and education, men who, lazily declining the labour to which they were born and bred, ſave the ſweat of their brows at the expence of their conſciences; and in order to get a little better livelihood, are content to get it, perhaps, in a leſs painful, but in a baſer way than the meaneſt mechanic.

Of theſe, gentlemen, it is your buſineſs to inquire; of the deviſers, of the writers, of the printers, and of the publiſhers, of all ſuch libels; and I do heartily recommend this inquiry to your care.

To conclude, gentlemen, you will conſider yourſelves as now ſummoned to the execution of an office of the utmoſt importance to the well-being of this community: nor will you, I am confident, ſuffer that eſtabliſhment, ſo wiſely and carefully regulated, and ſo ſtoutly and zealouſly maintained by your wiſe and brave anceſtors, to degenerate into mere form and ſhadow. Grand juries, gentlemen, are in reality the only cenſors of this nation. As ſuch, the manners of the people are in your hands, and in yours only. You, therefore, are the only correctors of them. If you neglect your duty, the certain conſequences to the public are too apparent: for as in a garden, however well cultivated at firſt, if the weeder's care be omitted,

Digitized by Google

omitted, the whole must in time be over-run with weeds, and will resemble the wildness and rudeness of a desert; so if those immoralities of the people, which will sprout up in the best constitution, be not from time to time corrected by the hand of justice, they will at length grow up to the most enormous vices, will overspread the whole nation, and in the end must produce a downright state of wild and savage barbarism.

To this censorial office, gentlemen, you are called by our excellent constitution. To execute this duty with vigilance, you are obliged by the duty you owe both to God and to your country. You are invested with full power for the purpose. This you have promised to do, under the sacred sanction of an oath; and you are all met, I doubt not, with disposition and resolution to perform it, with that zeal which I have endeavoured to recommend, and which the peculiar licentiousness of the age so strongly requires.

THE

Digitized by Google

THE

JOURNAL

OF A

VOYAGE to LISBON.

By the late

HENRY FIELDING, Esq;

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

DEDICATION

TO THE

PUBLIC.

YOUR candour is desired on the perusal of the following sheets, as they are the product of a genius that has long been your delight and entertainment. It must be acknowledged, that a lamp almost burnt out, does not give so steady and uniform a light, as when it blazes in its full vigour; but yet it is well known that, by its wavering, as if struggling against its own dissolution, it sometimes darts a ray as bright as ever. In like manner, a strong and lively genius will, in its last struggles, sometimes mount aloft, and throw forth the most striking marks of its original lustre.

Where-ever these are to be found, do you, the genuine patrons of extraordinary capacities, be as liberal in your applauses of him who is now no more, as you were of him whilst he was yet amongst you. And, on the other hand, if in this little work there should appear any traces of a weakened and decayed life, let your own imaginations place before your eyes a true picture in that of a hand trembling in almost its latest hour, of a body emaciated with pains, yet struggling for your entertainment; and let this affecting picture open each tender heart, and call forth a melting tear, to blot out whatever failings may be found in a work begun in pain, and finished almost at the same period with life.

It was thought proper, by the friends of the deceased, that this little piece should come into your hands as it came from the hands of the author; it being judged that you would be better pleased to have an opportunity of observing the faintest traces

Digitized by Google

of a genius you have long admired, than have it patched by a different hand; by which means the marks of its true author might have been effaced.

That the ſucceſs of this laſt-written, though firſt-publiſhed volume, of the author's poſthumous pieces, may be attended with ſome convenience to thoſe innocents he hath left behind, will, no doubt, be a motive to encourage its circulation through the kingdom, which will engage every future genius to exert itſelf for your pleaſure.

The principles and ſpirit, which breathe in every line of the ſmall fragment begun in anſwer to Lord Bolingbroke, will unqueſtionably be a ſufficient apology for its publication, although vital ſtrength was wanting to finiſh a work ſo happily begun, and ſo well deſigned.

PREFACE.

Digitized by Google

PREFACE.

THERE would not, perhaps, be a more pleaſant, or profitable ſtudy, among thoſe which have their principal end in amuſement, than that of travels or voyages, if they were writ, as they might be, and ought to be, with a joint view to the entertainment and information of mankind. If the converſation of travellers be ſo eagerly ſought after as it is, we may believe their books will be ſtill more agreeable company, as they will, in general, be more inſtructive and more entertaining.

But when I ſay the converſation of travellers is uſually ſo welcome, I muſt be underſtood to mean that only of ſuch as have had good ſenſe enough to apply their peregrinations to a proper uſe, ſo as to acquire from them a real and valuable knowledge of men and things; both which are beſt known by compariſon. If the cuſtoms and manners of men were every where the ſame, there would be no office ſo dull as that of a traveller: for the difference of hills, valleys, rivers; in ſhort, the various views in which we may ſee the face of the earth, would ſcarce afford him a pleaſure worthy of his labour; and ſurely it would give him very little opportunity of communicating any kind of entertainment or improvement to others.

To make a traveller an agreeable companion to a man of ſenſe, it is neceſſary, not only that he ſhould have ſeen much, but that he ſhould have overlooked much of what he hath ſeen. Nature is not, any more than a great genius, always admirable in her productions: and therefore the traveller, who may be called her commentator, ſhould not expect to find every where ſubjects worthy of his notice.

It is certain, indeed, that one may be guilty of omiſſion as well as of the oppoſite extreme; but a

Digitized by Google

fault on that ſide will be more eaſily pardoned, as it is better to be hungry than ſurfeited, and to miſs your deſert at the table of a man whoſe gardens abound with the choiceſt fruits, than to have your taſte affronted with every ſort of traſh that can be picked up at the green-ſtall or the wheel-barrow.

If we ſhould carry on the analogy between the traveller and the commentator, it is impoſſible to keep one's eye a moment off from the laborious much-read Dr Zachary Grey, of whoſe redundant notes on Hudibras I ſhall only ſay, that it is, I am confident, the ſingle book extant in which above five hundred authors are quoted, not one of which could be found in the collection of the late Dr Mead.

As there are few things which a traveller is to record, there are fewer on which he is to offer his obſervations: this is the office of the reader, and it is ſo pleaſant a one, that he ſeldom chuſes to have it taken from him, under the pretence of lending him aſſiſtance. Some occaſions, indeed, there are, when proper obſervations are pertinent, and others when they are neceſſary; but good ſenſe alone muſt point them out. I ſhall lay down only one general rule, which I believe to be of univerſal truth between relater and hearer, as it is between author and reader; this is, that the latter never forgive any obſervation of the former which doth not convey ſome knowledge that they are ſenſible they could not poſſibly have attained of themſelves.

But all his pains in collecting knowledge, all his judgment in ſelecting, and all his art in communicating it, will not ſuffice, unleſs he can make himſelf, in ſome degree, an agreeable, as well as an inſtructive companion. The higheſt inſtruction we can derive from the tedious tale of a dull fellow, ſcarce ever pays us for our attention. There is nothing, I think, half ſo valuable as knowledge, and yet there is nothing which men will give themſelves ſo little trouble to attain; unleſs it be, perhaps, that loweſt degree of it, which is the object of curioſity, and which hath therefore that active paſſion conſtantly employed

Digitized by Google

ployed in its ſervice. This, indeed, it is in the power of every traveller to gratify; but it is the leading principle in weak minds only.

To render his relation agreeable to the man of ſenſe, it is therefore neceſſary that the voyager ſhould poſſeſs ſeveral eminent and rare talents; ſo rare, indeed, that it is almoſt wonderful to ſee them ever united in the ſame perſon.

And if all theſe talents muſt concur in the relater, they are certainly in a more eminent degree neceſſary to the writer: for here the narration admits of higher ornaments of ſtyle, and every fact and ſentiment offers itſelf to the fulleſt and moſt deliberate examination.

It would appear therefore, I think, ſomewhat ſtrange, if ſuch writers as theſe ſhould be found extremely common; ſince Nature hath been a moſt parſimonious diſtributer of her richeſt talents, and hath ſeldom beſtowed many on the ſame perſon. But, on the other hand, why there ſhould ſcarce exiſt a ſingle writer of this kind worthy our regard; and whilſt there is no other branch of hiſtory (for this is hiſtory) which hath not exerciſed the greateſt pens, why this alone ſhould be overlooked by all men of great genius and erudition, and delivered up to the Goths and Vandals as their lawful property, is altogether as difficult to determine.

And yet that this is the caſe, with ſome very few exceptions, is moſt manifeſt. Of theſe I ſhall willingly admit Burnet and Addiſon; if the former was not perhaps to be conſidered as a political eſſayiſt, and the latter as a commentator on the claſſics, rather than as a writer of travels; which laſt title perhaps they would both of them have been leaſt ambitious to affect.

Indeed, if theſe two, and two or three more, ſhould be removed from the maſs, there would remain ſuch a heap of dulneſs behind, that the appellation of voyage-writer would not appear very deſirable.

I am not here unapprized that old Homer himſelf is by ſome conſidered as a voyage-writer; and indeed the beginning of his Odyſſey may be urged to coun-

Digitized by Google

tenance that opinion, which I shall not controvert. But whatever species of writing the Odyssey is of, it is surely at the head of that species, as much as the Iliad is of another; and so far the excellent Longinus would allow, I believe, at this day.

But, in reality, the Odyssey, the Telemachus, and all of that kind, are to the voyage-writing I here intend, what romance is to true history; the former being the confounder and corrupter of the latter. I am far from supposing, that Homer, Hesiod, and the other ancient poets and mythologists, had any settled design to pervert and confuse the records of antiquity; but it is certain they have effected it; and, for my part, I must confess I should have honoured and loved Homer more, had he written a true history of his own times in humble prose, than those noble poems that have so justly collected the praise of all ages; for though I read these with more admiration and astonishment, I still read Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon, with more amusement and more satisfaction.

The original poets were not, however, without excuse. They found the limits of nature too strait for the immensity of their genius, which they had not room to exert, without extending fact by fiction; and that especially at a time when the manners of men were too simple to afford that variety, which they have since offered in vain to the choice of the meanest writers. In doing this, they are again excusable for the manner in which they have done it,

Ut speciosa dehinc miracula promunt.

They are not indeed so properly said to turn reality into fiction, as fiction into reality. Their paintings are so bold, their colours so strong, that every thing they touch seems to exist in the very manner they represent it: their portraits are so just, and their landscapes so beautiful, that we acknowledge the strokes of nature in both, without inquiring whether Nature herself, or her journeyman the Poet, formed the first pattern of the piece.

But other writers (I will put Pliny at their head) have no such pretensions to indulgence: they lie for lying

Digitized by Google

lying ſake, or in order inſolently to impoſe the moſt monſtrous improbabilities and abſurdities upon their readers on their own authority; treating them as ſome fathers treat children, and as other fathers do laymen, exacting their belief of whatever they relate, on no other foundation than their own authority, without ever taking the pains of adapting their lies to human credulity, and of calculating them for the meridian of a common underſtanding; but with as much weakneſs as wickedneſs, and with more impudence often than either, they aſſert facts contrary to the honour of God, to the viſible order of the creation, to the known laws of nature, to the hiſtories of former ages, and to the experience of our own, and which no man can at once underſtand and believe.

If it ſhould be objected, (and it can no where be objected better than where I now write *, as there is no where more pomp of bigotry,) that whole nations have been firm believers in ſuch moſt abſurd ſuppoſitions; I reply, the fact is not true. They have known nothing of the matter, and have believed they knew not what. It is, indeed, with me no matter of doubt, but that the Pope and his clergy might teach any of thoſe Chriſtian Heterodoxies, the tenets of which are the moſt diametrically oppoſite to their own; nay, all the doctrines of Zoroaſter, Confucius, and Mahomet, not only with certain and immediate ſucceſs, but without one Catholic in a thouſand knowing he had changed his religion.

What motive a man can have to ſit down, and to draw forth a liſt of ſtupid, ſenſeleſs, incredible lies upon paper, would be difficult to determine, did not Vanity preſent herſelf ſo immediately as the adequate cauſe. The vanity of knowing more than other men is, perhaps, beſides hunger, the only inducement to writing, at leaſt to publiſhing, at all: why then ſhould not the voyage-writer be inflamed with the glory of having ſeen what no man ever did or will ſee but himſelf? This is the true ſource of the wonderful, in the diſcourſe and writings, and ſometimes, I be-

* At Liſbon.

lieve,

Digitized by Google

lieve, in the actions of men. There is another fault, of a kind directly oppoſite to this, to which theſe writers are ſometimes liable, when, inſtead of filling their pages with monſters which nobody hath ever ſeen, and with adventures which never have, nor could poſſibly have happened to them, they waſte their time and paper with recording things and facts of ſo common a kind, that they challenge no other right of being remembered, than as they had the honour of having happened to the author, to whom nothing ſeems trivial that in any manner happens to himſelf. Of ſuch conſequence do his own actions appear to one of this kind, that he would probably think himſelf guilty of infidelity, ſhould he omit the minuteſt thing in the detail of his journal. That the fact is true, is ſufficient to give it a place there, without any conſideration whether it is capable of pleaſing or ſurpriſing, of diverting or informing the reader.

I have ſeen a play (if I miſtake not, it is one of Mrs Behn's, or of Mrs Centlivre's) where this vice, in a voyage-writer, is finely ridiculed. An ignorant pedant, to whoſe government, for I know not what reaſon, the conduct of a young nobleman, in his travels, is committed, and who is ſent abroad to ſhew my Lord the world, of which he knows nothing himſelf, before his departure from a town, calls for his journal, to record the goodneſs of the wine and tobacco, with other articles of the ſame importance, which are to furniſh the materials of a voyage at his return home. The humour, it is true, is here carried very far; and yet, perhaps, very little beyond what is to be found in writers who profeſs no intention of dealing in humour at all.

Of one or other, or both of theſe kinds are, I conceive, all that vaſt pile of books, which paſs under the names of voyages, travels, adventures, lives, memoirs, hiſtories, *&c.* ſome of which a ſingle traveller ſends into the world in many volumes, and others are, by judicious booksellers, collected into vaſt bodies in folio, and inſcribed with their own names, as if they were indeed their own travels; thus unjuſtly attributing to themſelves the merit of others.

Now

Digitized by Google

Now from both these faults we have endeavoured to steer clear in the following narrative; which, however the contrary may be insinuated by ignorant, unlearned, and fresh-water-critics, who have never travelled either in books or ships, I do solemnly declare, doth, in my own impartial opinion, deviate less from truth than any other voyage extant; my Lord Anson's alone being, perhaps, excepted.

Some few embellishments must be allowed to every historian; for we are not to conceive, that the speeches in Livy, Sallust, or Thucydides, were literally spoken in the very words in which we now read them. It is sufficient that every fact hath its foundation in truth, as I do seriously aver is the case in the ensuing pages; and when it is so, a good critic will be so far from denying all kind of ornament of style or diction, or even of circumstance to his author, that he would be rather sorry if he omitted it: for he could hence derive no other advantage than the loss of an additional pleasure in the perusal.

Again, if any merely common incident should appear in this journal, which will seldom, I apprehend, be the case, the candid reader will easily perceive it is not introduced for its own sake, but for some observations and reflections naturally resulting from it; and which, if but little to his amusement, tend directly to the instruction of the reader, or to the information of the public; to whom if I chuse to convey such instruction or information with an air of joke and laughter, none but the dullest of fellows will, I believe, censure it; but if they should, I have the authority of more than one passage in Horace to alledge in my defence.

Having thus endeavoured to obviate some censures to which a man, without the gift of foresight, or any fear of the imputation of being a conjurer, might conceive this work would be liable; I might now undertake a more pleasing task, and fall at once to the direct and positive praises of the work itself: of which indeed I could say a thousand good things; but the task is so very pleasant, that I shall leave it wholly to the reader; and it is all the task that I impose on him; a moderation for which he may think himself obliged

to

Digitized by Google

to me, when he compares it with the conduct of authors, who often fill a whole sheet with their own praises, to which they sometimes set their own real names, and sometimes a fictitious one. One hint, however, I must give the kind reader; which is, that if he should be able to find no sort of amusement in the book, he will be pleased to remember the public utility which will arise from it. If entertainment, as Mr Richardson observes, be but a secondary consideration in a romance; with which Mr Addison I think agrees, affirming the use of the pastry-cook to be the first; if this, I say, be true of a mere work of invention, sure it may well be so considered in a work founded, like this, on truth; and where the political reflections form so distinguishing a part.

But perhaps I may hear, from some critic of the most saturnine complexion, that my vanity must have made a horrid dupe of my judgment, if it hath flattered me with an expectation of having any thing here seen in a grave light, or of conveying any useful instruction to the public, or to their guardians. I answer, with the great man whom I just now quoted, that my purpose is to convey instruction in the vehicle of entertainment; and so to bring about at once, like the revolution in the Rehearsal, a perfect reformation of the laws relating to our maritime affairs: an undertaking, I will not say more modest, but surely more feasible, than that of reforming a whole people, by making use of a vehicular story, to wheel in among them worse manners than their own.

INTRO-

Digitized by Google

INTRODUCTION.

IN the beginning of Auguſt, 1753, when I had taken the Duke of Portland's medecine, as it is called, near a year, the effects of which had been the carrying off the ſymptoms of a lingering imperfect gout, I was perſuaded by Mr Ranby, the King's premier ſerjeant-ſurgeon, and the ableſt advice, I believe, in all branches of the phyſical profeſſion, to go immediately to Bath. I accordingly writ that very night to Mrs Bowdon, who, by the next poſt, informed me ſhe had taken me a lodging for a month certain.

Within a few days after this, whilſt I was preparing for my journey, and when I was almoſt fatigued to death with ſeveral long examinations, relating to five different murders, all committed within the ſpace of a week, by different gangs of ſtreet-robbers, I received a meſſage from his Grace the Duke of Newcaſtle, by Mr Carrington, the King's meſſenger, to attend his Grace the next morning, in Lincoln's-inn-fields, upon ſome buſineſs of importance; but I excuſed myſelf from complying with the meſſage, as, beſides being lame, I was very ill with the great fatigues I had lately undergone, added to my diſtemper.

His Grace, however, ſent Mr Carrington, the very next morning, with another ſummons; with which, though in the utmoſt diſtreſs, I immediately complied; but the Duke happening, unfortunately for me, to be then particularly engaged, after I had waited ſome time, ſent a gentleman to diſcourſe with me on the beſt plan which could be invented for putting an immediate end to thoſe murders and robberies which were every day committed in the ſtreets; upon which I promiſed to tranſmit my opinion, in writing, to

Digitized by Google

to his Grace, who, as the gentleman informed me, intended to lay it before the Privy council.

Though this visit cost me a severe cold, I, notwithstanding, set myself down to work, and in about four days sent the Duke as regular a plan as I could form, with all the reasons and arguments I could bring to support it, drawn out in several sheets of paper; and soon received a message from the Duke, by Mr Carrington, acquainting me, that my plan was highly approved of, and that all the terms of it would be complied with.

The principal and most material of those terms, was the immediate depositing six hundred pounds in my hands; at which small charge I undertook to demolish the then reigning gangs, and to put the civil policy into such order, that no such gangs should ever be able for the future, to form themselves into bodies, or at least to remain any time formidable to the public.

I had delayed my Bath-journey for some time, contrary to the repeated advice of my physical acquaintance, and to the ardent desire of my warmest friends, though my distemper was now turned to a deep jaundice; in which case the Bath-waters are generally reputed to be almost infallible. But I had the most eager desire of demolishing this gang of villains and cutthroats, which I was sure of accomplishing the moment I was enabled to pay a fellow who had undertaken, for a small sum, to betray them into the hands of a set of thief-takers, whom I had enlisted into the service, all men of known and approved fidelity and intrepedity.

After some weeks the money was paid at the treasury; and within a few days after two hundred pounds of it came to my hands, the whole gang of cutthroats was entirely dispersed; seven of them were in actual custody, and the rest driven, some out of town, and others out of the kingdom.

Though my health was now reduced to the last extremity, I continued to act with the utmost vigour against these villains; in examining whom, and in taking the depositions against them, I have often spent whole

Digitized by Google

whole days, nay, ſometimes whole nights, eſpecially when there was any difficulty in procuring ſufficient evidence to convict them; which is a very common caſe in ſtreet-robberies, even when the guilt of the party is ſufficiently apparent to ſatisfy the moſt tender conſcience. But courts of juſtice know nothing of a cauſe more than what is told them on oath by a witneſs; and the moſt flagitious villain upon earth is tried in the ſame manner as a man of the beſt character, who is accuſed of the ſame crime.

Meanwhile, amidſt all my fatigues and diſtreſſes, I had the ſatisfaction to find my endeavours had been attended with ſuch ſucceſs, that this helliſh ſociety were almoſt utterly extirpated; and that, inſtead of reading of murders and ſtreet-robberies in the news almoſt every morning, there was, in the remaining part of the month of November, and in all December, not only no ſuch thing as a murder, but not even a ſtreet-robbery committed. Some ſuch, indeed, were mentioned in the public papers; but they were all found, on the ſtricteſt inquiry, to be falſe.

In this entire freedom from ſtreet-robberies, during the dark months, no man will, I believe, ſcruple to acknowledge, that the winter of 1753 ſtands unrivaled, during a courſe of many years; and this may poſſibly appear the more extraordinary to thoſe who recollect the outrages with which it began.

Having thus fully accompliſhed my undertaking, I went into the country in a very weak and deplorable condition, with no fewer or leſs diſeaſes than a jaundice, a dropſy, and an aſthma, altogether uniting their forces in the deſtruction of a body ſo entirely emaciated, that it had loſt all its muſcular fleſh.

Mine was now no longer what is called a Bath caſe; nor, if it had been ſo, had I ſtrength remaining ſufficient to go thither, a ride of ſix miles only being attended with an intolerable fatigue. I now diſcharged my lodgings at Bath, which I had hitherto kept. I began, in earneſt, to look on my caſe as deſperate, and I had vanity enough to rank myſelf with thoſe heroes who, of old times, became voluntary ſacrifices to the good of the public.

Digitized by Google

But, leſt the reader ſhould be too eager to catch at the word *vanity*, and ſhould be unwilling to indulge me with ſo ſublime a gratification, for I think he is not too apt to gratify me, I will take my key a pitch lower, and will frankly own that I had a ſtronger motive than the love of the public to puſh me on; I will therefore confeſs to him that my private affairs at the beginning of the winter had but a gloomy aſpect; for I had not plundered the public or the poor of thoſe ſums, which men who are always ready to plunder both, as much as they can, have been pleaſed to ſuſpect me of taking: on the contrary, by compoſing, inſtead of inflaming, the quarrels of porters and beggars (which I bluſh when I ſay hath not been univerſally practiſed) and by refuſing to take a ſhilling from a man who moſt undoubtedly would not have had another left, I had reduced an income of about five hundred pounds a * year of the dirtieſt money upon earth, to little more than three hundred pounds; a conſiderable proportion of which remained with my clerk; and, indeed, if the whole had done ſo, as it ought, he

* A predeceſſor of mine uſed to boaſt that he made one thouſand pounds a-year in his office; but how he did this (if indeed he did it) is to me a ſecret. His clerk, now mine, told me I had more buſineſs than he had ever known there; I am ſure I had as much as any man could do. The truth is, the fees are ſo very low, when any are due, and ſo much is done for nothing, that if a ſingle juſtice of peace had buſineſs enough to employ twenty clerks, neither he nor they would get much by their labour. The public will not therefore, I hope, think I betray a ſecret, when I inform them, that I received from the government a yearly penſion out of the public ſervice-money; which, I believe, indeed would have been larger, had my great patron been convinced of an error, which I have heard him utter more than once, That he could not indeed ſay, that the acting as a principal juſtice of peace in Weſtminſter was on all accounts very deſirable, but that all the world knew it was a very lucrative office. Now, to have ſhewn him plainly, that a man muſt be a rogue to make a very little this way, and that he could not make much by being as great a rogue as he could be, would have required more confidence than, I believe, he had in me, and more of his converſation than he choſe to allow me; I therefore reſigned the office, and the farther execution of my plan to my brother, who had long been my aſſiſtant. And now, leſt the caſe between me and the reader ſhould be the ſame in both inſtances as it was between me and the great man, I will not add another word on the ſubject.

Digitized by Google

he would be but ill paid for ſitting almoſt ſixteen hours in the twenty-four, in the moſt unwholeſome, as well as nauſeous air in the univerſe, and which hath in his caſe corrupted a good conſtitution without contaminating his morals.

But, not to trouble the reader with anecdotes, contrary to my own rule laid down in my preface, I aſſure him I thought my family was very ſlenderly provided for; and that my health began to decline ſo faſt, that I had very little more of life left to accompliſh what I had thought of too late. I rejoiced therefore greatly in ſeeing an opportunity, as I apprehended, of gaining ſuch merit in the eye of the public, that, if my life were the ſacrifice to it, my friends might think they did a popular act in putting my family at leaſt beyond the reach of neceſſity, which I myſelf began to deſpair of doing. And though I diſclaim all pretence to that Spartan or Roman patriotiſm, which loved the public ſo well that it was always ready to become a voluntary ſacrifice to the public good, I do ſolemnly declare, I have that love for my family.

After this confeſſion therefore, that the public was not the principal deity to which my life was offered a ſacrifice, and when it is farther conſidered what a poor ſacrifice this was, being indeed no other than the giving up what I ſaw little likelihood of being able to hold much longer, and which, upon the terms I held it, nothing but the weakneſs of human nature could repreſent to me as worth holding at all; the world may, I believe, without envy, allow me all the praiſe to which I have any title.

My aim, in fact, was not praiſe, which is the laſt gift they care to beſtow; at leaſt, this was not my aim as an end, but rather as a means of purchaſing ſome moderate proviſion for my family, which, though it ſhould exceed my merit, muſt fall infinitely ſhort of my ſervice, if I ſucceeded in my attempt.

To ſay the truth, the public never act more wiſely, than when they act moſt liberally in the diſtribution of their rewards; and here the good they receive is often more to be conſidered than the motive from which they receive it. Example alone is the end of

Digitized by Google

all public punishments and rewards. Laws never inflict disgrace in resentment, nor confer honour from gratitude. 'For it is very hard, my lord, 'said a convicted felon at the bar to the late excellent judge Burnet, 'to hang a poor man for stealing a horse.' 'You are not to be hanged, Sir,' answered my ever-honoured and beloved friend, 'for stealing a horse; 'but you are to be hanged, that horses may not be 'stolen.' In like manner it might have been said to the late Duke of Marlborough, when the parliament was so deservedly liberal to him, after the battle of Blenheim, 'You receive not those honours and boun-'ties on account of a victory past, but that other 'victories may be obtained.'

I was now, in the opinion of all men, dying of a complication of disorders; and, were I desirous of playing the advocate, I have an occasion fair enough: but I disdain such an attempt. I relate facts plainly and simply as they are, and let the world draw from them what conclusions they please, taking with them the following facts for their instruction: The one is, that the proclamation offering one hundred pounds for the apprehending felons for certain felonies committed in certain places, which I prevented from being revived, had formerly cost the government several thousand pounds within a single year. Secondly, That all such proclamations, instead of curing the evil, had actually increased it; had multiplied the number of robberies; had propagated the worst and wickedest of perjuries; had laid snares for youth and ignorance, which, by the temptation of these rewards, had been sometimes drawn into guilt; and sometimes, which cannot be thought on without the highest horror, had destroyed them without it. Thirdly, That my plan had not put the government to more than three hundred pounds expence, and had produced none of the ill consequences above-mentioned; but, lastly, Had actually suppressed the evil for a time, and had plainly pointed out the means of suppressing it for ever. This I would myself have undertaken, had my health permitted, at the annual expence of the abovementioned sum.

After

Digitized by Google

After having ſtood the terrible ſix weeks which ſucceeded laſt Chriſtmas, and put a lucky end, if they had known their own intereſts, to ſuch numbers of aged and infirm valetudinarians, who might have gaſped through two or three mild winters more, I returned to town in February, in a condition leſs deſpaired of by myſelf than by any of my friends. I now became the patient of Dr Ward, who wiſhed I had taken his advice earlier.

By his advice I was tapped, and fourteen quarts of water drawn from my belly. The ſudden relaxation which this cauſed, added to my enervate, emaciated habit of body, ſo weakened me, that within two days I was thought to be falling into the agonies of death.

I was at the worſt on that memorable day when the public loſt Mr Pelham. From that day I began ſlowly, as it were, to draw my feet out of the grave; till in two months time I had again acquired ſome little degree of ſtrength, but was again full of water.

During this whole time, I took Mr Ward's medicines, which had ſeldom any perceptible operation. Thoſe in particular of the diaphoretic kind, the working of which is thought to require a great ſtrength of conſtitution to ſupport, had ſo little effect on me, that Mr Ward declared it was as vain to attempt ſweating me as a deal board.

In this ſituation I was tapped a ſecond time. I had one quart of water leſs taken from me now than before; but I bore all the conſequences of the operation much better. This I attributed greatly to a doſe of laudanum preſcribed by my ſurgeon. It firſt gave me the moſt delicious flow of ſpirits, and afterwards as comfortable a nap.

The month of May, which was now begun, it ſeemed reaſonable to expect, would introduce the ſpring, and drive off that winter which yet maintained its footing on the ſtage. I reſolved therefore to viſit a little houſe of mine in the country, which ſtands at Ealing, in the county of Middleſex, in the beſt air, I believe, in the whole kingdom, and far ſuperior to that of Kenſington Gravel-Pits; for the gravel is here much wider and deeper, the place higher and more

Digitized by Google

open toward the ſouth, whilſt it is guarded from the north wind by a ridge of hills, and from the ſmells and ſmoke of London by its diſtance; which laſt is not the fate of Kenſington, when the wind blows from any corner of the eaſt.

Obligations to Mr Ward I ſhall always confeſs; for I am convinced that he omitted no care in endeavouring to ſerve me, without any expectation or deſire of fee or reward.

The powers of Mr Ward's remedies want, indeed, no unfair puffs of mine to give them credit: and though this diſtemper of the dropſy ſtands, I believe, firſt in the liſt of thoſe over which he is always certain of triumphing; yet, poſſibly, there might be ſomething particular in my caſe, capable of eluding that radical force which had healed ſo many thouſands. The ſame diſtemper, in different conſtitutions, may poſſibly be attended with ſuch different ſymptoms, that to find an infallible noſtrum for the curing any one diſtemper in every patient, may be almoſt as difficult as to find a panacea for the cure of all.

But even ſuch a panacea one of the greateſt ſcholars and beſt of men did lately apprehend he had diſcovered. It is true, indeed, he was no phyſician; that is, he had not by the forms of his education acquired a right of applying his ſkill in the art of phyſic to his own private advantage; and yet, perhaps, it may be truly aſſerted, that no other modern hath contributed ſo much to make his phyſical ſkill uſeful to the public; at leaſt, that none hath undergone the pains of communicating this diſcovery in writing to the world. The reader, I think, will ſcarce need to be informed that the writer I mean is the late biſhop of Cloyne in Ireland; and the diſcovery, that of the virtues of Tar-water.

I then happened to recollect, upon a hint given me by the inimitable and ſhamefully-diſtreſſed author of the Female Quixote, that I had many years before, from curioſity only, taken a curſory view of biſhop Berkley's treatiſe on the virtues of tar-water, which I had formerly obſerved he ſtrongly contends to be that real panacea, which Sydenham ſuppoſes to have

Digitized by Google

have an exiſtence in nature, though it yet remains undiſcovered, and, perhaps, will always remain ſo.

Upon the re-peruſal of this book, I found the biſhop only aſſerting his opinion, that tar-water might be uſeful in the dropſy, ſince he had known it to have a ſurpriſing ſucceſs in the cure of a moſt ſtubborn anaſarca, which is indeed no other than, as the word implies, the dropſy of the fleſh; and this was, at that time, a large part of my complaint.

After a ſhort trial, therefore, of a milk diet, which I preſently found did not ſuit with my caſe, I betook myſelf to the biſhop's preſcription, and doſed myſelf every morning and evening with half a pint of tar-water.

It was no more than three weeks ſince my laſt tapping, and my belly and limbs were diſtended with water. This did not give me the worſe opinion of tar-water: for I never ſuppoſed there could be any ſuch virtue in tar-water, as immediately to carry off a quantity of water already collected. For my delivery from this I well knew I muſt be again obliged to the trochar; and that if the tar-water did me any good at all, it muſt be only by the ſloweſt degrees; and that if it ſhould ever get the better of my diſtemper, it muſt be by the tedious operation of undermining, and not by a ſudden attack and ſtorm.

Some viſible effects, however, and far beyond what my moſt ſanguine hopes could with any modeſty expect, I very ſoon experienced; the tar-water having, from the very firſt, leſſened my illneſs, increaſed my appetite, and added, though in a very ſlow proportion, to my daily ſtrength.

But if my ſtrength had increaſed a little, my water daily increaſed much more. So that, by the end of May, my belly became again ripe for the trochar, and I was a third time tapped; upon which, two very favourable ſymptoms appeared. I had three quarts of water taken from me leſs than had been taken the laſt time; and I bore the relaxation with much leſs (indeed with ſcarce any) faintneſs.

Thoſe of my phyſical friends, on whoſe judgment I chiefly depended, ſeemed to think my only chance of

Digitized by Google

of life consisted in having the whole summer before me; in which I might hope to gather sufficient strength to encounter the inclemencies of the ensuing winter. But this chance began daily to lessen. I saw the summer mouldering away; or rather, indeed, the year passing away without intending to bring on any summer at all. In the whole month of May, the sun scarce appeared three times; so that the early fruits came to the fulness of their growth, and to some appearance of ripeness, without acquiring any real maturity; having wanted the heat of the sun to soften and meliorate their juices. I saw the dropsy gaining rather than losing ground; the distance growing still shorter between the tappings. I saw the asthma likewise beginning again to become more troublesome. I saw the Midsummer quarter drawing towards a close. So that I conceived, if the Michaelmas quarter should steal off in the same manner, as it was, in my opinion, very much to be apprehended it would, I should be delivered up to the attacks of winter, before I recruited my forces, so as to be any wise able to withstand them.

I now began to recal an intention, which from the first dawnings of my recovery I had conceived, of removing to a warmer climate; and finding this to be approved of by a very eminent physician, I resolved to put it into immediate execution.

Aix in Provence was the place first thought on; but the difficulties of getting thither were insuperable. The journey by land, besides the expence of it, was infinitely too long and fatiguing; and I could hear of no ship that was likely to set out from London, within any reasonable time, for Marseilles, or any other port in that part of the Mediterranean.

Lisbon was presently fixed on in its room. The air here, as it was near four degrees to the south of Aix, must be more mild and warm, and the winter shorter and less piercing.

It was not difficult to find a ship bound to a place with which we carry on so immense a trade. Accordingly, my brother soon informed me of the excellent accommodations for passengers, which were to be found

Digitized by Google

found on board a ship that was obliged to sail for Lisbon in three days.

I eagerly embraced the offer, notwithstanding the shortness of the time; and having given my brother full power to contract for our passage, I began to prepare my family for the voyage with the utmost expedition.

But our great haste was needless; for the Captain having twice put off his sailing, I at length invited him to dinner with me at Fordhook, a full week after the time on which he had declared, and that with many asseverations, he must, and would weigh anchor.

He dined with me, according to his appointment; and when all matters were settled between us, left me with positive orders to be on board the Wednesday following; when he declared he would fall down the river to Gravesend; and would not stay a moment for the greatest man in the world.

He advised me to go to Gravesend by land, and there wait the arrival of his ship; assigning many reasons for this, every one of which was, as I well remember, among those that had before determined me to go on board near the Tower.

THE

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

THE JOURNAL OF A VOYAGE to LISBON.

Wednesday, June 16. 1754.

ON this day, the most melancholy sun I had ever beheld arose, and found me awake at my house at Fordhook. By the light of this sun, I was, in my own opinion, last to behold and take leave of some of those creatures on whom I doated with a mother-like fondness, guided by nature and passion, and uncured and unhardened by all the doctrine of that philosophical school where I had learned to bear pains and to despise death.

In this situation, as I could not conquer nature, I submitted entirely to her; and she made as great a fool of me as she had ever done of any woman whatsoever: under pretence of giving me leave to enjoy, she drew me in to suffer, the company of my little ones, during eight hours; and I doubt not whether, in that time, I did not undergo more than in all my distemper.

At twelve precisely my coach was at the door, which was no sooner told me than I had kissed my children round, and went into it with some little resolution. My wife, who behaved more like a heroine and philosopher, though at the same time the tenderest mother in the world, and my eldest daughter, followed me; some friends went with us, and others here took their leave; and I heard my behaviour applauded with

Digitized by Google

with many murmurs and praiſes to which I well knew I had no title; as all other ſuch philoſophers may, if they have any modeſty, confeſs on the like occaſions.

In two hours we arrived in Redriffe, and immediately went on board, and were to have ſailed the next morning; but as this was the king's proclamation-day, and conſequently a holiday at the Cuſtom-houſe, the Captain could not clear his veſſel till the Thurſday; for theſe holidays are as ſtrictly obſerved as thoſe in the Popiſh calendar, and are almoſt as numerous. I might add, that both are oppoſite to the genius of trade, and conſequently *contra bonum publicum*.

To go on board the ſhip, it was neceſſary firſt to go into a boat; a matter of no ſmall difficulty, as I had no uſe of my limbs, and was to be carried by men, who, though ſufficiently ſtrong for their burden, were, like Archimedes, puzzled to find a ſteady footing. Of this, as few of my readers have not gone into wherries on the Thames, they will eaſily be able to form to themſelves an idea. However, by the aſſiſtance of my friend Mr Welch, whom I never think or ſpeak of but with love and eſteem, I conquered this difficulty, as I did afterwards that of aſcending the ſhip, into which I was hoiſted with more eaſe by a chair lifted with pullies. I was ſoon ſeated in a great chair in the cabin, to refreſh myſelf after a fatigue which had been more intolerable, in a quarter of a mile's paſſage from my coach to the ſhip, than I had before undergone in a land-journey of twelve miles, which I had travelled with the utmoſt expedition.

This latter fatigue was, perhaps, ſomewhat heightened by an indignation, which I could not prevent ariſing in my mind. I think, upon my entrance into the boat, I preſented a ſpectacle of the higheſt horror. The total loſs of limbs was apparent to all who ſaw me, and my face contained marks of a moſt diſeaſed ſtate, if not of death itſelf. Indeed, ſo ghaſtly was my countenance, that timorous women with child had abſtained from my houſe, for fear of the ill conſequences of looking at me. In this condition, I ran the gauntlope (ſo, I think, I may juſtly call it) through rows

Digitized by Google

rows of ſailors and watermen, few of whom failed of paying their compliments to me, by all manner of inſults and jeſts on my miſery. No man who knew me will think I conceived any perſonal reſentment at this behaviour; but it was a lively picture of that cruelty and inhumanity, in the nature of men, which I have often contemplated with concern; and which leads the mind into a train of very uncomfortable and melancholy thoughts. It may be ſaid, that this barbarous cuſtom is peculiar to the Engliſh, and of them only to the loweſt degree; that it is an excreſcence of an uncontrouled licentiouſneſs, miſtaken for liberty, and never ſhews itſelf in men who are poliſhed and refined, in ſuch manner as human nature requires, to produce that perfection of which it is ſuſceptible, and to purge away that malevolence of diſpoſition of which, at our birth, we partake in common with the ſavage creation.

This may be ſaid, and this is all that can be ſaid; and it is, I am afraid, but little ſatisfactory to account for the inhumanity of thoſe, who, while they boaſt of being made after God's own image, ſeem to bear in their minds a reſemblance of the vileſt ſpecies of brutes; or rather, indeed, of our idea of devils: for I don't know that any brutes can be taxed with ſuch malevolence.

A ſurloin of beef was now placed on the table, for which, though little better than carrion, as much was charged by the maſter of the little paltry alehouſe who dreſſed it, as would have been demanded for all the elegance of the King's Arms, or any other polite tavern or eating-houſe: for, indeed, the difference between the beſt houſe and the worſt, is, that at the former you pay largely for luxury, at the latter for nothing.

Thurſday, June 27. This morning the Captain, who lay on ſhore at his own houſe, paid us a viſit in the cabin; and behaved like an angry baſhaw, declaring, that had he known we were not to be pleaſed, he would not have carried us for five hundred pounds. He added many aſſeverations, that he was a gentleman, and deſpiſed money; not forgetting ſeveral hints

Digitized by Google

of the preſents which had been made him for his cabin, of twenty, thirty, and forty guineas, by ſeveral gentlemen, over and above the ſum for which they had contracted. This behaviour greatly ſurpriſed me, as I knew not how to account for it, nothing having happened ſince we parted from the Captain the evening before in perfect good humour; and all this broke forth on the firſt moment of his arrival this morning. He did not, however, ſuffer my amazement to have any long continuance, before he clearly ſhewed me, that all this was meant only as an apology to introduce another procraſtination (being the fifth) of his weighing anchor; which was now poſtponed till Saturday, for ſuch was his will and pleaſure.

Beſides the diſagreeable ſituation in which we then lay, in the confines of Wapping and Redriffe, taſting a delicious mixture of the air of both theſe ſweet places, and enjoying the concord of ſweet ſounds of ſeamen, watermen, fiſhwomen, oyſterwomen, and of all the vociferous inhabitants of both ſhores, compoſing altogether a greater variety of harmony than Hogarth's imagination hath brought together in that print of his, which is enough to make a man deaf to look at: I had a more urgent cauſe to preſs our departure, which was, that the dropſy, for which I had undergone three tappings, ſeemed to threaten me with a fourth diſcharge, before I ſhould reach Liſbon, and when I ſhould have nobody on board capable of performing the operation; but I was obliged to hearken to the voice of Reaſon, if I may uſe the Captain's own words, and to reſt myſelf contented. Indeed, there was no alternative within my reach, but what would have coſt me much too dear.

There are many evils in ſociety, from which people of the higheſt rank are ſo entirely exempt, that they have not the leaſt knowledge or idea of them; nor, indeed, of the characters which are formed by them. Such, for inſtance, is the conveyance of goods and paſſengers from one place to another. Now there is no ſuch thing as any kind of knowledge contemptible in itſelf; and as the particular knowledge I here mean is entirely neceſſary to the well-underſtanding and well-

Digitized by Google

well-enjoying this journal; and, laſtly, as in this caſe the moſt ignorant will be thoſe very readers whoſe amuſement we chiefly conſult, and to whom we wiſh to be ſuppoſed principally to write, we will h e enter ſomewhat largely into the diſcuſſion of this matter; the rather, for that no antient or modern author (if we can truſt the catalogue of Dr Mead's library) hath ever undertaken it; but that it ſeems (in the ſtyle of Don Quixotte) a taſk reſerved for my pen alone.

When I firſt conceived this intention, I began to entertain thoughts of inquiring into the antiquity of travelling; and, as many perſons have performed in this way (I mean have travelled) at the expence of the public, I flattered myſelf that the ſpirit of improving arts and ſciences, and of advancing uſeful and ſubſtantial learning, which ſo eminently diſtinguiſhes this age, and hath given riſe to more ſpeculative ſocieties in Europe than I at preſent can recollect the names of; perhaps, indeed, than I or any other beſides their very near neighbours ever heard mentioned, would aſſiſt in promoting ſo curious a work. A work! begun with the ſame views, calculated for the ſame purpoſes, and fitted for the ſame uſes, with the labours which thoſe right honourable ſocieties have ſo chearfully undertaken themſelves, and encouraged in others; ſometimes with the higheſt honours, even with admiſſion into their colleges, and with enrollment among their members.

From theſe ſocieties I promiſed myſelf all aſſiſtance in their power, particularly the communication of ſuch valuable manuſcripts and records as they muſt be ſuppoſed to have collected from thoſe obſcure ages of antiquity, when hiſtory yields us ſuch imperfect accounts of the reſidence, and much more imperfect of the travels, of the human race; unleſs, perhaps, as a curious and learned member of the young ſociety of Antiquarians is ſaid to have hinted his conjectures, that their reſidence and their travels were one and the ſame; and this diſcovery (for ſuch it ſeems to be) he is ſaid to have owed to the lighting by accident on a book, which we ſhall have occaſion to mention preſently,

Digitized by Google

ſently, the contents of which were then little known to the ſociety.

The King of Pruſſia, moreover, who, from a degree of benevolence and taſte, which in either caſe is a rare production in ſo northern a climate, is the great encourager of art and ſcience, I was well aſſured would promote ſo uſeful a deſign, and order his archives to be ſearched in my behalf.

But after well-weighing all theſe advantages, and much meditation on the order of my work, my whole deſign was ſubverted in a moment, by hearing of the diſcovery juſt mentioned to have been made by the young antiquarian, who, from the moſt ancient record in the world (though I don't find the ſociety are all agreed in this point,) one long preceding the date of the earlieſt modern collections, either of books or butterflies, none of which pretend to go beyond the flood, ſhews us, that the firſt man was a traveller, and that he and his family were ſcarce ſettled in Paradiſe before they diſliked their own home, and became paſſengers to another place. Hence it appears, that the humour of travelling is as old as the human race, and that it was their curſe from the beginning.

By this diſcovery my plan became much ſhortened, and I found it only neceſſary to treat of the conveyance of goods and paſſengers from place to place; which, not being univerſally known, ſeemed proper to be explained, before we examined into its original. There are, indeed, two different ways of tracing all things, uſed by the hiſtorian and the antiquary; theſe are, upwards and downwards. The former ſhews you how things are, and leaves to others to diſcover when they began to be ſo. The latter ſhews you how things were, and leaves their preſent exiſtence to be examined by others. Hence the former is more uſeful; the latter more curious. The former receives the thanks of mankind; the latter of that valuable part, the virtuoſi.

In explaining, therefore, this myſtery of carrying goods and paſſengers from one place to another, hitherto ſo profound a ſecret to the very beſt of our readers, we ſhall purſue the hiſtorical method, and endeavour

Digitized by Google

deavour to shew by what means it is at present performed, referring the more curious inquirer either to some other pen, or to some other opportunity.

Now there are two general ways of performing (if God permit) this conveyance; *viz.* by land and water, both of which have much variety; that by land being performed in different vehicles, such as coaches, caravans, waggons, *&c.* and that by water in ships, barges, and boats, of various sizes and denominations. But as all these methods of conveyance are formed on the same principles, they agree so well together, that it is fully sufficient to comprehend them all in the general view, without descending to such minute particulars as would distinguish one method from another.

Common to all of these is one general principle, that as the goods to be conveyed are usually the larger, so they are to be chiefly considered in the conveyance; the owner being indeed little more than an appendage to his trunk, or box, or bale, or at best a small part of his own baggage, very little care is to be taken in stowing or packing them up with convenience to himself: for the conveyance is not of passengers and goods, but of goods and passengers.

Secondly, From this conveyance arises a new kind of relation, or rather of subjection, in the society; by which the passenger becomes bound in allegiance to his conveyer. This allegiance is indeed only temporary and local, but the most absolute, during its continuance, of any known in Great Britain, and, to say truth, scarce consistent with the liberties of a free people; nor could it be reconciled with them, did it not move downwards, a circumstance universally apprehended to be incompatible to all kinds of slavery. For Aristotle, in his Politics, hath proved abundantly to my satisfaction, that no men are born to be slaves, except barbarians; and these only to such as are not themselves barbarians: and indeed Mr Montesquieu hath carried it very little farther, in the case of the Africans; the real truth being, that no man is born to be a slave, unless to him who is able to make him so.

Digitized by Google

Thirdly, This subjection is absolute, and consists of a perfect resignation both of body and soul to the disposal of another; after which resignation, during a certain time, his subject retains no more power over his own will, than an Asiatic slave, or an English wife, by the laws of both countries, and by the customs of one of them. If I should mention the instance of a stage-coachman, many of my readers would recognize the truth of what I have here observed; all indeed, that ever have been under the dominion of that tyrant, who, in this free country, is as absolute as a Turkish Bashaw. In two particulars only his power is defective; he cannot press you into his service; and if you enter yourself at one place, on condition of being discharged at a certain time at another, he is obliged to perform his agreement, if God permit: but all the intermediate time you are absolutely under his government; he carries you how he will, when he will, and whither he will, provided it be not much out of the road; you have nothing to eat, or to drink, but what, and when, and where he pleases. Nay, you cannot sleep, unless he pleases you should; for he will order you sometimes out of bed at midnight, and hurry you away at a moment's warning: indeed, if you can sleep in his vehicle, he cannot prevent it; nay, indeed, to give him his due, this he is ordinarily disposed to encourage; for the earlier he forces you to rise in the morning, the more time he will give you in the heat of the day, sometimes even six hours at an alehouse, or at their doors, where he always gives you the same indulgence which he allows himself; and for this he is generally very moderate in his demands. I have known a whole bundle of passengers charged no more than half a crown for being suffered to remain quiet at an alehouse door, for above a whole hour, and that even in the hottest day in summer.

But as this kind of tyranny, though it hath escaped our political writers, hath been, I think, touched by our dramatic, and is more trite among the generality of readers; and as this and all other kinds of such subjection are alike unknown to my friends; I will quit the

Digitized by Google

the paſſengers by land, and treat of thoſe who travel by water; for whatever is ſaid on this ſubject is applicable to both alike; and we may bring them together as cloſely as they are brought in the liturgy, when they are recommended to the prayers of all Chriſtian congregations; and (which I have often thought very remarkable) where they are joined with other miſerable wretches, ſuch as, women in labour, people in ſickneſs, infants juſt born, priſoners and captives.

Goods and paſſengers are conveyed by water in divers vehicles, the principal of which being a ſhip, it ſhall ſuffice to mention that alone. Here the tyrant doth not derive his title, as the ſtage-coachman doth, from the vehicle itſelf, in which he ſtows his goods and paſſengers, but he is called the Captain: a word of ſuch various uſe and uncertain ſignification, that it ſeems very difficult to fix any poſitive idea to it: if indeed, there be any general meaning which may comprehend all its different uſes, that of the head, or chief, of any body of men, ſeems to be moſt capable of this comprehenſion; for whether they be a company of ſoldiers, a crew of ſailors, or a gang of rogues, he who is at the head of them is always ſtyled the Captain.

The particular tyrant, whoſe fortune it was to ſtow us aboard, laid a farther claim to this appellation than the bare command of a vehicle of conveyance. He had been the captain of a privateer, which he choſe to call being in the king's ſervice, and thence derived a right of hoiſting the military ornament of a cockade over the button of his hat. He likewiſe wore a ſword of no ordinary length by his ſide, with which he ſwaggered in his cabin, among the wretches his paſſengers, whom he had ſtowed in cupboards on each ſide. He was a perſon of a very ſingular character. He had taken it into his head that he was a gentleman, from thoſe very reaſons that proved he was not one; and to ſhew himſelf a fine gentleman, by a behaviour which ſeemed to inſinuate he had never ſeen one. He was, moreover, a man of gallantry; at the age of ſeventy, he had the finicalneſs of Sir Courtly Nice, with the roughneſs of Surly; and while he was deaf himſelf, had a voice capable of deafening all others.

Now,

Digitized by Google

Now, as I saw myself in danger by the delays of the Captain, who was, in reality, waiting for more freight, and as the wind had been long nested, as it were, in the south-west, where it constantly blew hurricanes, I began with great reason to apprehend that our voyage might be long, and that my belly, which began already to be much extended, would require the water to be let out at a time when no assistance was at hand; though, indeed, the Captain comforted me with assurances, that he had a pretty young fellow on board, who acted as his surgeon, as I found he likewise did as steward, cook, butler, sailor. In short, he had as many offices as Scrub in the play, and went through them all with great dexterity; this of surgeon was, perhaps, the only one in which his skill was somewhat deficient, at least that branch of tapping for the dropsy; for he very ingenuously and modestly confessed, he had never seen the operation performed, nor was possessed of that chirurgical instrument with which it is performed.

Friday, June 28. By way of prevention, therefore, I this day sent for my friend Mr Hunter, the great surgeon and anatomist of Covent-garden; and, though my belly was not yet very full and tight, let out ten quarts of water; the young sea-surgeon attended the operation, not as a performer, but as a student.

I was now eased of the greatest apprehension which I had from the length of the passage; and I told the Captain, I was become indifferent as to the time of his sailing. He expressed much satisfaction in this declaration, and at hearing from me, that I found myself, since my tapping, much lighter and better. In this, I believe, he was sincere; for he was, as we shall have occasion to observe more than once, a very good-natured man; and as he was a very brave one too, I found that the heroic constancy, with which I had borne an operation that is attended with scarce any degree of pain, had not a little raised me in his esteem. That he might adhere, therefore, in the most religious and rigorous manner to his word, when he had no longer any temptation from interest

to

Digitized by Google

to break it, as he had no longer any hopes of more goods or paſſengers, he ordered his ſhip to fall down to Graveſend on Sunday morning, and there to wait his arrival.

Sunday, June 30. Nothing worth notice paſſed till that morning, when my poor wife, after paſſing a night in the utmoſt torments of the tooth-ach, reſolved to have it drawn. I diſpatched, therefore, a ſervant into Wapping, to bring, in haſte, the beſt tooth-drawer he could find. He ſoon found out a female of great eminence in the art; but when he brought her to the boat, at the water-ſide, they were informed that the ſhip was gone; for, indeed, ſhe had ſet out a few minutes after his quitting her; nor did the pilot, who well knew the errand on which I had ſent my ſervant, think fit to wait a moment for his return, or to give me any notice of his ſetting out, though I had, very patiently, attended the delays of the Captain four days, after many ſolemn promiſes of weighing anchor every one of the three laſt.

But all the petty baſhaws, or turbulent tyrants I ever beheld, this four-faced pilot was the worſt tempered; for, during the time that he had the guidance of the ſhip, which was till we arrived in the Downs, he complied with no one's deſires, nor did he give a civil word, or indeed a civil look, to any on board.

The tooth-drawer, who, as I ſaid before, was one of great eminence among her neighbours, refuſed to follow the ſhip; ſo that my man made himſelf the beſt of his way, and, with ſome difficulty, came up with us before we were got under full ſail; for, after that, as we had both wind and tide with us, he would have found it impoſſible to overtake the ſhip, till ſhe was come to an anchor at Graveſend.

The morning was fair and bright, and we had a paſſage thither, I think, as pleaſant as can be conceived; for, take it with all its advantages, particularly the number of fine ſhips you are always ſure of ſeeing by the way, there is nothing to equal it in all the rivers of the world. The yards of Deptford and of Woolwich are noble ſights; and to give us a juſt idea of the great perfection to which we are arrived in building

Digitized by Google

building those floating castles, and the figure which we may always make in Europe among the other maritime powers. That of Woolwich, at least, very strongly imprinted this idea on my mind; for there was now on the stocks there the Royal Anne, supposed to be the largest ship ever built, and which contains ten carriage guns more than had ever yet equipped a first rate.

It is true, perhaps, that there is more of ostentation than of real utility, in ships of this vast and unwieldy burthen, which are rarely capable of acting against an enemy: but if the building such contributes to preserve, among other nations, the notion of the British superiority in naval affairs, the expence, though very great, is well incurred, and the ostentation is laudable and truly political. Indeed, I should be sorry to allow that Holland, France, or Spain, possessed a vessel larger and more beautiful than the largest and most beautiful of ours; for this honour I would always administer to the pride of our sailors, who should challenge it from all their neighbours with truth and success. And sure I am, that not our honest tars alone, but every inhabitant of this island, may exult in the comparison, when he considers the King of Great-Britain as a maritime prince, in opposition to any other prince in Europe; but I am not so certain that the same idea of superiority will result from comparing our land-forces with those of many other crowned heads. In numbers, they all far exceed us; and in the goodness and splendor of their troops, many nations, particularly the Germans and French, and perhaps the Dutch cast us at a distance; for, however we may flatter ourselves with the Edwards and Henrys of former ages, the change of the whole art of war since those days, by which the advantage of personal strength is, in a manner, entirely lost, hath produced a change in military affairs to the advantage of our enemies. As for our successes in latter days, if they were not entirely owing to the superior genius of our general, they were not a little due to the superior force of his money. Indeed, if we should arraign Marshal Saxe of ostentation, when he shewed his army drawn

Digitized by Google

drawn up, to our captive general, the day after the battle of La Val, we cannot ſay that the oſtentation was entirely vain: ſince he certainly ſhewed him an army, which had not been often equalled, either in the number or goodneſs of the troops, and which, in thoſe reſpects, ſo far exceeded ours, that none can ever caſt any reflection on the brave young prince who could not reap the laurels of conqueſt in that day; but his retreat will be always mentioned as an addition to his glory.

In our marine the caſe is entirely the reverſe, and it muſt be our own fault if it doth not continue ſo; for continue ſo it will, as long as the flouriſhing ſtate of our trade ſhall ſupport it; and this ſupport it can never want, till our legiſlature ſhall ceaſe to give ſufficient attention to the protection of our trade, and our magiſtrates want ſufficient power, ability, and honeſty, to execute the laws: a circumſtance not to be apprehended, as it cannot happen, till our ſenates and our benches ſhall be filled with the blindeſt ignorance, or with the blackeſt corruption.

Beſides the ſhips in the docks, we ſaw many on the water: the yachts are ſights of great parade, and the king's body-yacht is, I believe, unequalled in any country, for convenience as well as magnificence; both which are conſulted in building and equipping her with the moſt exquiſite art and workmanſhip.

We ſaw likewiſe ſeveral Indiamen juſt returned from their voyage. Theſe are, I believe, the largeſt and fineſt veſſels which are any where employed in commercial affairs. The colliers, likewiſe, which are very numerous, and even aſſemble in fleets, are ſhips of great bulk; and, if we deſcend to thoſe uſed in the American, African, and European trades, and paſs through thoſe which viſit our own coaſts, to the ſmall craft that ly between Chatham and the Tower, the whole forms a moſt pleaſing object to the eye, as well as highly warming to the heart of an Engliſhman, who has any degree of love for his country, or can recognize any effect of the patriot in his conſtitution.

Laſtly, The Royal Hoſpital of Greenwich, which preſents ſo delightful a front to the water, and doth ſuch

Digitized by Google

ſuch honour at once to its builder and the nation, to the great ſkill and ingenuity of the one, and to the no leſs ſenſible gratitude of the other, very properly cloſes the account of this ſcene; which may well appear romantic to thoſe who have not themſelves ſeen, that, in this one inſtance, truth and reality are capable, perhaps, of exceeding the power of fiction.

When we had paſſed by Greenwich, we ſaw only two or three gentlemen's houſes, all of very moderate account, till we reached Graveſend; theſe are all on the Kentiſh ſhore, which affords a much drier, wholeſomer and pleaſanter ſituation than doth that of its oppoſite, Eſſex. This circumſtance, I own, is ſomewhat ſurpriſing to me, when I reflect on the numerous villas that crowd the river, from Chelſea upwards as far as Shepperton, where the narrow channel affords not half ſo noble a proſpect, and where the continual ſucceſſion of the ſmall craft, like the frequent repetition of all things which have nothing in them great, beautiful, or admirable, tire the eye, and give us diſtaſte and averſion inſtead of pleaſure. With ſome of theſe ſituations, ſuch as Barnes, Mortlake, *&c.* even the ſhore of Eſſex might contend, not upon very unequal terms; but on the Kentiſh borders, there are many ſpots to be choſen by the builder, which might juſtly claim the preference over almoſt the very fineſt of thoſe in Middleſex and Surrey.

How ſhall we account for this depravity in taſte? for, ſurely, there are none ſo very mean and contemptible, as to bring the pleaſure of ſeeing a number of little wherries, gliding along after one another, in competition with what we enjoy, in viewing a ſucceſſion of ſhips, with all their ſails expanded to the winds, bounding over the waves before us.

And here I cannot paſs by another obſervation on the deplorable want of taſte in our enjoyments, which we ſhew by almoſt totally neglecting the purſuit of what ſeems to me the higheſt degree of amuſement: this is, the ſailing ourſelves in little veſſels of our own, contrived only for our eaſe and accommodation, to which ſuch ſituations of our villas, as I have recommended,

Digitized by Google

commended, would be so convenient and even necessary.

This amusement, I confess, if enjoyed in any perfection, would be of the expensive kind; but such expence would not exceed the reach of a moderate fortune, and would fall very short of the prices which are daily paid for pleasures of a far inferior rate. The truth, I believe, is, that sailing in the manner I have just mentioned, is a pleasure rather unknown, or unthought of, than rejected by those who have experienced it; unless, perhaps, the apprehension of danger, or sea-sickness, may be supposed, by the timorous and delicate, to make too large deductions; insisting, that all their enjoyments shall come to them pure and unmixed, and being ever ready to cry out,

----- *Nocet empta dolore voluptas.*

This, however, was my present case; for the ease and lightness which I felt from my tapping, the gaiety of the morning, the pleasant sailing with wind and tide, and the many agreeable objects with which I was constantly entertained during the whole way, were all suppressed and overcome by the single consideration of my wife's pain, which continued incessantly to torment her till we came to an anchor, when I dispatched a messenger in great haste, for the best reputed operator in Gravesend. A surgeon of some eminence now appeared, who did not decline tooth-drawing, though he certainly would have been offended with the appellation of tooth-drawer, no less than his brethren, the members of that venerable body, would be with that of barber, since the late separation between those long united companies, by which, if the surgeons have gained much, the barbers are supposed to have lost very little.

This able and careful person (for so I sincerely believe he is) after examining the guilty tooth, declared, that it was such a rotten shell, and so placed at the very remotest end of the upper jaw, where it was, in a manner, covered and secured by a large, fine, firm tooth, that he despaired of his power of drawing it.

Digitized by Google

He ſaid, indeed, more to my wife, and uſed more rhetoric to diſſuade her from having it drawn, than is generally employed to perſuade young ladies to prefer a pain of three moments to one of three months continuance; eſpecially, if thoſe young ladies happen to be paſt forty and five years of age, when, by ſubmitting to ſupport a racking torment, the only good circumſtance attending which is, 'tis ſo ſhort, that ſcarce one in a thouſand can cry out, 'I feel it,' they are to do a violence to their charms, and loſe one of thoſe beautiful holders, with which alone Sir Courtly Nice declares, a lady can ever lay hold of his heart.

He ſaid at laſt ſo much, and ſeemed to reaſon ſo juſtly, that I came over to his ſide and aſſiſted him in prevailing on my wife (for it was no eaſy matter) to reſolve on keeping her tooth a little longer, and to apply to palliatives only for relief. Theſe were opium applied to the tooth, and bliſters behind the ears.

Whilſt we were at dinner this day, in the cabbin, on a ſudden the window on one ſide was beat into the room, with a craſh, as if a twenty-pounder had been diſcharged among us. We were all alarmed at the ſuddenneſs of the accident, for which, however, we were ſoon able to account: for the ſaſh, which was ſhivered all to pieces, was purſued into the middle of the cabbin by the bowſprit of a little ſhip, called a cod-ſmack, the maſter of which made us amends for running (careleſsly at beſt) againſt us, and injuring the ſhip, in the ſea-way; that is to ſay, by damning us all to hell, and uttering ſeveral pious wiſhes that it had done us much more miſchief. All which were anſwered in their own kind and phraſe by our men; between whom and the other crew a dialogue of oaths and ſcurrility was carried on, as long as they continued in each other's hearing.

It is difficult, I think, to aſſign a ſatisfactory reaſon why ſailors in general ſhould, of all others, think themſelves entirely diſcharged from the common bands of humanity, and ſhould ſeem to glory in the language and behaviour of ſavages. They ſee more of the world, and have, moſt of them, a more erudite education,

Digitized by Google

cation, than is the portion of landmen of their degree. Nor do I believe that in any country they visit (Holland itself not excepted) they can ever find a parallel to what daily passes on the river Thames. Is it that they think true courage (for they are the bravest fellows upon earth) inconsistent with all the gentleness of a human carriage; and that the contempt of civil order springs up in minds but little cultivated, at the same time, and from the same principles, with the contempt of danger and death? Is it-----? In short, it is so; and how it comes to be so, I leave to form a question in the Robin Hood society, or to be propounded for solution among the ænigmas in the Woman's Almanack for the next year.

Monday, July 1. This day Mr Welch took his leave of me after dinner, as did a young lady of her sister, who was proceeding with my wife to Lisbon. They both set out together in a post-chaise for London.

Soon after their departure, our cabbin, where my wife and I were sitting together, was visited by two ruffians, whose appearance greatly corresponded with that of the sheriff's, or rather the knight-marshal's bailiffs. One of these especially, who seemed to affect a more than ordinary degree of rudeness and insolence, came in without any kind of ceremony, with a broad gold-lace on his hat, which was cocked with much military fierceness on his head. An inkhorn at his button-hole, and some papers in his hand, sufficiently assured me what he was, and I asked him if he and his companion were not custom-house-officers; he answered with sufficient dignity, that they were, as an information which he seemed to conclude would strike the hearer with awe, and suppress all further inquiry: but, on the contrary, I proceeded to ask of what rank he was in the custom-house, and receiving an answer from his companion, as I remember, that the gentleman was a riding-surveyor; I replied, that he might be a riding-surveyor, but could be no gentleman, for that none who had any title to that denomination, would break into the presence of a lady, without any apology, or even moving his hat. He then took his covering from his head, and laid it

Digitized by Google

on the table, saying, he asked pardon, and blamed the mate, who should, he said, have informed him if any persons of distinction were below. I told him, he might guess by our appearance (which, perhaps, was rather more than could be said with the strictest adherence to truth) that he was before a gentleman and lady, which should teach him to be very civil in his behaviour, though he should not happen to be of that number whom the world calls people of fashion and distinction. However, I said, that as he seemed sensible of his error, and had asked pardon, the lady would permit him to put his hat on again, if he chose it. This he refused with some degree of surliness, and failed not to convince me, that, if I should condescend to become more gentle, he would soon grow more rude.

I now renewed a reflection, which I have often seen occasion to make, that there is nothing so incongruous in nature as any kind of power, with lowness of mind and of ability; and that there is nothing more deplorable than the want of truth in the whimsical notion of Plato; who tells us that 'Saturn, well knowing 'the state of human affairs, gave us kings and rulers, 'not of human, but divine original. For as we make 'not shepherds of sheep, nor oxherds of oxen, nor 'goatherds of goats; but place some of our own kind 'over all, as being better and fitter to govern them: 'in the same manner, were demons, by the Divine 'Love, set over us, as a race of beings of a superior 'order to men, and who, with great ease to themselves, might regulate our affairs, and establish 'peace, modesty, freedom, and justice, and totally 'destroying all sedition, might complete the happiness of the human race. So far, at least, may even 'now be said with truth, that in all states which are 'under the government of mere man, without any 'divine assistance, there is nothing but labour and 'misery to be found. From what I have said therefore, we may at least learn, with our utmost endeavours, to imitate the Saturnian institution; borrowing all assistance from our immortal part, while we 'pay to this the strictest obedience, we should form

'both

Digitized by Google

'both our private œconomy, and public policy, 'from its dictates. By this diſpenſation of our im- 'mortal minds, we are to eſtabliſh a law, and to call 'it by that name. But if any government be in the 'hands of a ſingle perſon, of the few, or of the ma- 'ny; and ſuch governor or governors ſhall abandon 'himſelf or themſelves to the unbridled purſuit of 'the wildeſt pleaſures or deſires, unable to reſtrain 'any paſſion, but poſſeſſed with an inſatiable bad 'diſeaſe; if ſuch ſhall attempt to govern, and at the 'ſame time to trample on all laws, there can be no 'means of preſervation left for the wretched people.' Plato de Leg. lib. iv. p. 713, 714. edit. Serrani.

It is true that Plato is here treating of the higheſt degree of ſovereign power in a ſtate; but it is as true that his obſervations are general, and may be applied to all inferior powers: and, indeed, every ſubordinate degree is immediately derived from the higheſt; and as it is equally protected by the ſame force, and ſanctified by the ſame authority, is alike dangerous to the well-being of the ſubject.

Of all powers, perhaps, there is none ſo ſanctified and protected, as this which is under our preſent conſideration. So numerous, indeed, and ſtrong are the ſanctions given to it by many acts of parliament, that, having once eſtabliſhed the laws of cuſtoms on merchandize, it ſeems to have been the ſole view of the legiſlature to ſtrengthen the hands, and protect the perſons, of the officers, who became eſtabliſhed by thoſe laws; many of whom are ſo far from bearing any reſemblance to the Saturnian inſtitution, and to be choſen from a degree of beings ſuperior to the reſt of the human race, that they ſometimes ſeem induſtriouſly picked out of the loweſt and vileſt orders of mankind.

There is, indeed, nothing ſo uſeful to man in general, nor ſo beneficial to particular ſocieties and individuals, as trade. This is that *alma mater*, at whoſe plentiful breaſt all mankind are nouriſhed. It is true, like other parents, ſhe is not always equally indulgent to all her children; but though ſhe gives to her favourites a vaſt proportion of redundancy and ſuperfluity, there are very few whom ſhe refuſes to ſupply

Digitized by Google

with the conveniences, and none with the neceſſaries of life.

Such a benefactreſs as this muſt naturally be beloved by mankind in general; it would be wonderful, therefore, if her intereſt was not conſidered by them, and protected from the fraud and violence of ſome of her rebellious offſpring, who, coveting more than their ſhare, or more than ſhe thinks proper to allow them, are daily employed in meditating miſchief againſt her, and in endeavouring to ſteal from their brethren thoſe ſhares which this great *alma mater* had allowed them.

At length our governor came on board, and about ſix in the evening we weighed anchor, and fell down to the Nore, whither our paſſage was extremely pleaſant, the evening being very delightful, the moon juſt paſt the full, and both wind and tide favourable to us.

Tueſday, July 2. This morning we again ſet ſail, under all the advantages we had enjoyed the evening before: this day we left the ſhore of Eſſex, and coaſted along Kent, paſſing by the pleaſant iſland of Thanet, which is an iſland, and that of Sheppy, which is not an iſland; and about three o'clock, the wind being now full in our teeth, we came to an anchor in the Downs, within two miles of Deal. My wife having ſuffered intolerable pain from her tooth, again renewed her reſolution of having it drawn; and another ſurgeon was ſent for from Deal, but with no better ſucceſs than the former. He likewiſe declined the operation, for the ſame reaſon which had been aſſigned by the former: however, ſuch was her reſolution, backed with pain, that he was obliged to make the attempt, which concluded more in honour of his judgment, than of his operation; for after having put my poor wife to inexpreſſible torment, he was obliged to leave her tooth *in ſtatu quo;* and ſhe had now the comfortable proſpect of a long fit of pain, which might have laſted her whole voyage, without any poſſibility of relief.

In theſe pleaſing ſenſations, of which I had my juſt ſhare, nature, overcome with fatigue, about eight

in

Digitized by Google

in the evening, reſigned her to reſt; a circumſtance which would have given me ſome happineſs, could I have known how to employ thoſe ſpirits which were raiſed by it: but unfortunately for me, I was left in a diſpoſition of enjoying an agreeable hour, without the aſſiſtance of a companion, which has always appeared to me neceſſary to ſuch enjoyment; my daughter and her companion were both retired ſeaſick to bed; the other paſſengers were a rude ſchool-boy of fourteen years old, and an illiterate Portugueſe friar, who underſtood no language but his own, in which I had not the leaſt ſmattering. The Captain was the only perſon left, in whoſe converſation I might indulge myſelf; but unluckily, beſides a total ignorance of every thing in the world but a ſhip, he had the misfortune of being ſo deaf, that to make him hear, I will not ſay underſtand, my words, I muſt run the riſque of conveying them to the ears of my wife, who, though in another room (called, I think, the ſtate-room; being indeed a moſt ſtately apartment capable of containing one human body in length, if not very tall, and three bodies in breadth) lay aſleep within a yard of me. In this ſituation, neceſſity and choice were one and the ſame thing; the Captain and I ſat down together to a ſmall bowl of punch, over which we both ſoon fell faſt aſleep, and ſo concluded the evening.

Wedneſday, July 3. This morning I awaked at four o'clock, for my diſtemper ſeldom ſuffered me to ſleep later. I preſently got up, and had the pleaſure of enjoying the ſight of a tempeſtuous ſea for four hours before the Captain was ſtirring; for he loved to indulge himſelf in morning ſlumbers, which were attended with a wind muſic, much more agreeable to the performers than to the hearers, eſpecially ſuch as have, as I had, the privilege of ſitting in the orcheſtra. At eight o'clock the Captain roſe, and ſent his boat on ſhore. I ordered my man likewiſe to go in it; as my diſtemper was not of that kind which entirely deprives us of appetite. Now, though the Captain had well victualled his ſhip with all manner of ſalt proviſions for the voyage, and had added great quantities

Digitized by Google

quantities of fresh stores, particularly of vegetables, at Gravesend, such as beans and peas, which had been on board only two days, and had, possibly, not been gathered above two more, I apprehended I could provide better for myself at Deal, than the ship's ordinary seemed to promise. I accordingly sent for fresh provisions of all kinds from the shore, in order to put off the evil day of starving as long as possible. My man returned with most of the articles I sent for, and I now thought myself in a condition of living a week on my own provisions. I therefore ordered my own dinner, which I wanted nothing but a cook to dress, and a proper fire to dress it at; but those were not to be had, nor indeed any addition to my roast mutton, except the pleasure of the Captain's company, with that of the other passengers; for my wife continued the whole day in a state of dozing, and my other females, whose sickness did not abate by the rolling of the ship at anchor, seemed more inclined to empty their stomachs than to fill them. Thus I passed the whole day (except about an hour at dinner) by myself, and the evening concluded with the Captain as the preceeding one had done. One comfortable piece of news he communicated to me, which was that he had no doubt of a prosperous wind in the morning; but as he did not divulge the reasons of this confidence, and as I saw none myself, besides the wind being directly opposite, my faith in this prophecy was not strong enough to build any great hopes upon.

Thursday, July 4. This morning, however, the Captain seemed resolved to fulfill his own predictions, whether the wind would or no; he accordingly weighed anchor, and taking the advantage of the tide, when the wind was not very boisterous, he hoisted his sails, and, as if his power had been no less absolute over Eolus than it was over Neptune, he forced the wind to blow him on in its own despight.

But as all men who have ever been at sea, well know how weak such attempts are, and want no authorities of Scripture to prove, that the most absolute power of a captain of a ship is very contemptible in the wind's eye, so did it befal our noble commander; who

Digitized by Google

who having ſtruggled with the wind three or four hours, was obliged to give over, and loſt, in a few minutes, all that he had been ſo long a gaining; in ſhort, we returned to our former ſtation, and once more caſt anchor in the neighbourhood of Deal.

Here, though we lay near the ſhore, that we might promiſe ourſelves all the emolument which could be derived from it, we found ourſelves deceived; and that we might with as much conveniency be out of the ſight of land; for, except when the Captain launched forth his own boat, which he did always with great reluctance, we were incapable of procuring any thing from Deal, but at a price too exorbitant, and beyond the reach even of modern luxury; the fare of a boat from Deal, which lay at two miles diſtance, being at leaſt three half-crowns, and if we had been in any diſtreſs for it, as many half-guineas; for theſe good people conſider the ſea as a large common, appendant to their manor, in which when they find any of their fellow-creatures impounded, they conclude, that they have a full right of making them pay at their own diſcretion for their deliverance. To ſay the truth, whether it be that men who live on the ſea-ſhore are of an amphibious kind, and do not entirely partake of human nature, or whatever elſe may be the reaſon, they are ſo far from taking any ſhare in the diſtreſſes of mankind, or of being moved with any compaſſion for them, that they look upon them as bleſſings ſhowered down from above; and which the more they improve to their own uſe, the greater is their gratitude and piety. Thus at Graveſend, a ſculler requires a ſhilling for going leſs way than he would row in London for three pence; and, at Deal, a boat often brings more profit in a day, than it can produce in London in a week, or, perhaps, in a month; in both places, the owner of the boat founds his demand on the neceſſity and diſtreſs of one, who ſtands more or leſs in abſolute want of his aſſiſtance; and with the urgency of theſe, always riſes in the exorbitancy of his demand, without ever conſidering, that, from theſe very circumſtances, the power or eaſe of gratifying ſuch demand is in like proportion

proportion leſſened. Now, as I am unwilling that ſome concluſions, which may be, I am aware, too juſtly drawn from theſe obſervations, ſhould be imputed to human nature in general, I have endeavoured to account for them in a way more conſiſtent with the goodneſs and dignity of that nature: however it be, it ſeems a little to reflect on the governors of ſuch monſters, that they do not take ſome means to reſtrain theſe impoſitions, and prevent them from triumphing any longer in the miſeries of thoſe, who are, in many circumſtances at leaſt, their fellow-creatures, and conſidering the diſtreſſes of a wretched ſeaman, from his being wrecked to his being barely windbound, as a bleſſing ſent among them from above, and calling it by that blaſphemous name.

Friday, July 5. This day I ſent a ſervant on board a man of war, that was ſtationed here, with my compliments to the Captain, to repreſent to him the diſtreſs of the ladies, and to deſire the favour of his long-boat to conduct us to Dover, at about ſeven miles diſtance; and, at the ſame time, preſumed to make uſe of a great lady's name, the wife of the firſt lord-commiſſioner of the admiralty; who would, I told him, be pleaſed with any kindneſs ſhewn by him towards us in our miſerable condition. And this I am convinced was true, from the humanity of the lady, though ſhe was entirely unknown to me.

The Captain returned a verbal anſwer to a long letter; acquainting me, that what I deſired could not be complied with, it being a favour not in his power to grant. This might be, and I ſuppoſe was true; but it was as true, that if he was able to write, and had pen, ink, and paper aboard, he might have ſent a written anſwer, and that it was the part of a gentleman ſo to have done; but this is a character ſeldom maintained on the watery element, eſpecially by thoſe who exerciſe any power on it. Every commander of a veſſel here ſeems to think himſelf entirely free from all thoſe rules of decency and civility, which direct and reſtrain the conduct of the members of a ſociety on ſhore; and each, claiming abſolute dominion in his little wooden world, rules by his own laws

Digitized by Google

laws and his own discretion. I do not, indeed, know so pregnant an instance of the dangerous consequences of absolute power, and its aptness to intoxicate the mind, as that of those petty tyrants, who become such in a moment, from very well-disposed and social members of that communion, in which they affect no superiority, but live in an orderly state of legal subjection with their fellow-citizens.

Saturday, July 6. This morning our commander, declaring he was sure the wind would change, took the advantage of an ebbing tide, and weighed his anchor. His assurance, however, had the same completion, and his endeavours the same success, with his former trial; and he was soon obliged to return once more to his old quarters. Just before we let go our anchor, a small sloop, rather than submit to yield us an inch of way, ran foul of our ship, and carried off her bowsprit. This obstinate frolic would have cost those aboard the sloop very dear, if our steersman had not been too generous to exert his superiority, the certain consequence of which would have been the immediate sinking of the other. This contention of the inferior with a might capable of crushing it in an instant, may seem to argue no small share of folly or madness, as well as of impudence; but I am convinced there is very little danger in it: contempt is a port to which the pride of man submits to fly with reluctance, but those who are within it are always in a place of the most assured security; for whosoever throws away his sword, prefers, indeed, a less honourable, but much safer means of avoiding danger, than he who defends himself with it. And here we shall offer another distinction, of the truth of which much reading and experience have well convinced us, that as in the most absolute governments, there is a regular progression of slavery downwards, from the top to the bottom, the mischief of which is seldom felt with any great force and bitterness, but by the next immediate degree; so in the most dissolute and anarchial states, there is as regular an ascent of what is called rank or condition, which is always laying hold of the heel of him, who is advanced

Digitized by Google

vanced but one ſtep higher on the ladder, who might, if he did not too much deſpiſe ſuch efforts, kick his purſuer head-long to the bottom. We will conclude this digreſſion with one general and ſhort obſervation, which will, perhaps, ſet the whole matter in a clearer light than the longeſt and moſt laboured harangue. Whereas envy of all things moſt expoſes us to danger from others; ſo, contempt of all things beſt ſecures us from them. And thus, while the dung-cart and the ſloop are always meditating miſchief againſt the coach and the ſhip, and throwing themſelves deſignedly in their way, the latter conſider only their own ſecurity, and are not aſhamed to break the road, and let the other paſs by them.

Monday, July 8. Having paſſed our Sunday without any thing remarkable, unleſs the catching a great number of whitings in the afternoon may be thought ſo, we now ſet ſail on Monday at ſix o'clock, with a little variation of wind; but this was ſo very little, and the breeze itſelf ſo ſmall, that the tide was our beſt, and indeed almoſt our only friend. This conducted us along the ſhort remainder of the Kentiſh ſhore. Here we paſt that cliff of Dover, which makes ſo tremendous a figure in Shakeſpear, and which whoever reads without being giddy, muſt, according to Mr Addiſon's obſervation, have either a very good head, or a very bad one; but which whoever contracts any ſuch ideas from the ſight of muſt have, at leaſt a poetic, if not a Shakeſpearian genius. In truth, mountains, rivers, heroes, and gods, owe great part of their exiſtence to the poets; and Greece and Italy do ſo plentifully abound in the former, becauſe they furniſhed ſo glorious a number of the latter; who, while they beſtowed immortality on every little hillock and blind ſtream, left the nobleſt rivers and mountains in the world to ſhare the ſame obſcurity with the eaſtern and weſtern poets, in which they are celebrated.

This evening we beat the ſea off Suſſex, in ſight of Dungeneſs, with much more pleaſure than progreſs; for the weather was almoſt a perfect calm, and the moon,

Digitized by Google

moon, which was almoſt at the full, ſcarce ſuffered a ſingle cloud to veil her from our ſight.

Tueſday, Wedneſday, July 9, 10. Theſe two days we had much the ſame fine weather, and made much the ſame way; but in the evening of the latter day a pretty freſh gale ſprung up, at N. N. W. which brought us by the morning in ſight of the Iſle of Wight.

Thurſday, July 11. This gale continued till towards noon; when the eaſt end of the iſland bore but little a-head of us. The Captain ſwaggered, and declared he would keep the ſea; but the wind got the better of him, ſo that about three he gave up the victory, and, making a ſudden tack, ſtood in for the ſhore, paſſed by Spithead and Portſmouth, and came to an anchor at a place called Ryde on the iſland.

A moſt tragical incident fell out this day at ſea. While the ſhip was under ſail, but making, as will appear, no great way, a kitten, one of four of the feline inhabitants of the cabbin, fell from the window into the water: an alarm was immediately given to the Captain, who was then upon deck, and received it with the utmoſt concern, and many bitter oaths. He immediately gave orders to the ſteerſman in favour of the poor thing, as he called it; the ſails were inſtantly ſlackened, and all hands, as the phraſe is, employed to recover the poor animal. I was, I own, extremely ſurpriſed at all this; leſs, indeed, at the Captain's extreme tenderneſs, than at his conceiving any poſſibility of ſucceſs; for, if Puſs had had nine thouſand, inſtead of nine lives, I concluded they had been all loſt. The boatſwain, however, had more ſanguine hopes; for, having ſtript himſelf of his jacket, breeches, and ſhirt, he leapt boldly into the water, and, to my great aſtoniſhment, in a few minutes returned to the ſhip, bearing the motionleſs animal in his mouth. Nor was this, I obſerved, a matter of ſuch great difficulty as it appeared to my ignorance, and poſſibly may ſeem to that of my freſh-water reader: the kitten was now expoſed to air and ſun on the deck, where its life, of which it retained no ſymptoms, was deſpaired of by all.

Digitized by Google

The Captain's humanity, if I may ſo call it, did not ſo totally deſtroy his philoſophy, as to make him yield himſelf up to affliction on this melancholy occaſion. Having felt his loſs like a man, he reſolved to ſhew he could bear it like one; and having declared he had rather have loſt a caſk of rum or brandy, betook himſelf to threſhing at back-gammon with the Portugueſe friar, in which innocent amuſement they had paſſed about two thirds of their time.

But as I have, perhaps, a little too wantonly endeavoured to raiſe the tender paſſions of my readers, in this narrative, I ſhould think myſelf unpardonable if I concluded it, without giving them the ſatisfaction of hearing that the kitten at laſt recovered, to the great joy of the good Captain; but to the great diſappointment of ſome of the ſailors, who aſſerted that the drowning a cat was the very ſureſt way of raiſing a favourable wind: a ſuppoſition of which, though we have heard ſeveral plauſible accounts, we will not preſume to aſſign the true original reaſon.

Friday, July 12. This day our ladies went aſhore at Ryde, and drank their afternoon tea at an alehouſe there with great ſatisfaction: here they were regaled with freſh cream, to which they had been ſtrangers ſince they left the Downs.

Saturday, July 13. The wind ſeeming likely to continue in the ſame corner, where it had been almoſt conſtantly for two months together; I was perſuaded by my wife to go aſhore, and ſtay at Ryde till we ſailed. I approved the motion much: for though I am a great lover of the ſea, I now fancied there was more pleaſure in breathing the freſh air of the land; but, how to get thither was the queſtion: for, being really that dead luggage, which I conſidered all paſſengers to be in the beginning of this narrative, and incapable of any bodily motion without external impulſe, it was in vain to leave the ſhip, or to determine to do it, without the aſſiſtance of others. In one inſtance, perhaps, the living luggage is more difficult to be moved, or removed, than an equal or much ſuperior weight of dead matter; which, if of the brittle kind, may indeed be liable to be broken through

Digitized by Google

through negligence; but this, by proper care, may be almoſt certainly prevented; whereas, the fractures to which the living lumps are expoſed, are ſometimes by no caution avoidable, and often by no art to be amended.

I was deliberating on the means of conveyance, not ſo much out of the ſhip to the boat, as out of a little tottering boat to the land; a matter which, as I had already experienced in the Thames, was not extremely eaſy, when to be performed by any other limbs than your own. Whilſt I weighed all that could ſuggeſt itſelf on this head, without ſtrictly examining the merit of the ſeveral ſchemes which were advanced by the Captain and ſailors, and, indeed, giving no very deep attention even to my wife, who, as well as her friend and my daughter, were exerting their tender concern for my eaſe and ſafety; Fortune, for I am convinced ſhe had a hand in it, ſent me a preſent of a buck; a preſent, welcome enough of itſelf, but more welcome on account of the veſſel in which it came, being a large hoy, which in ſome places would paſs for a ſhip, and many people would go ſome miles to ſee the ſight. I was pretty eaſily conveyed on board this hoy, but to get from hence to the ſhore was not ſo eaſy a taſk; for however ſtrange it may appear, the water itſelf did not extend ſo far; an inſtance which ſeems to explain thoſe lines of Ovid,

Omnia Pontus erant, deerant quoque littora Ponto,

in a leſs tautological ſenſe, than hath generally been imputed to them.

In fact, between the ſea and the ſhore, there was, at low water, an impaſſable gulph, if I may ſo call it, of deep mud, which could neither be traverſed by walking nor ſwimming; ſo that for near one half of the twenty-four hours, Ryde was inacceſſible by friend or foe. But as the magiſtrates of this place ſeemed more to deſire the company of the former than to fear that of the latter, they had begun to make a ſmall cauſeway to the low-water mark, ſo that foot-paſſengers might land whenever they pleaſed;

Digitized by Google

but as this work was of a public kind, and would have coſt a large ſum of money, at leaſt ten pounds, and the magiſtrates, that is to ſay, the church-wardens, the overſeers, conſtable, and tithingman, and the principal inhabitants, had every one of them ſome ſeparate ſcheme of private intereſt to advance at the expence of the public, they fell out among themſelves; and after having thrown away one half of the requiſite ſum, reſolved at leaſt to ſave the other half, and rather be contented to ſit down loſers themſelves, than to enjoy any benefit which might bring in a greater profit to another. Thus that unanimity, which is ſo neceſſary in all public affairs, became wanting: and every man, from the fear of being a bubble to another, was, in reality, a bubble to himſelf.

However, as there is ſcarce any difficulty, to which the ſtrength of man, aſſiſted with the cunning of art, is not equal, I was at laſt hoiſted into a ſmall boat, and being rowed pretty near the ſhore, was taken up by two ſailors, who waded with me through the mud, and placed me in a chair on the land, whence they afterwards conveyed me a quarter of a mile farther, and brought me to a houſe, which ſeemed to bid the faireſt for hoſpitality of any in Ryde.

We brought with us our proviſions from the ſhip, ſo that we wanted nothing but a fire to dreſs our dinner, and a room in which we might eat it. In neither of theſe had we any reaſon to apprehend a diſappointment, our dinner conſiſting only of beans and bacon; and the worſt apartment in his Majeſty's dominions, either at home or abroad, being fully ſufficient to anſwer our preſent ideas of delicacy.

Unluckily, however, we were diſappointed in both; for when we arrived about four at our inn, exulting in the hopes of immediately ſeeing our beans ſmoking on the table, we had the mortification of ſeeing them on the table indeed, but without that circumſtance which would have made the ſight agreeable, being in the ſame ſtate in which we had diſpatched them from our ſhip.

In

Digitized by Google

In excuse for this delay, though we had exceeded, almost purposely, the time appointed, and our provision had arrived three hours before, the mistress of the house acquainted us, that it was not for want of time to dress them that they were not ready, but for fear of their being cold or overdone before we should come; which, she assured us, was much worse than waiting a few minutes for our dinner: an observation so very just, that it is impossible to find any objection in it; but, indeed, it was not altogether so proper at this time: for we had given the most absolute orders to have them ready at four, and had been ourselves, not without much care and difficulty, most exactly punctual in keeping to the very minute of our appointment. But tradesmen, inn-keepers, and servants, never care to indulge us in matters contrary to our true interest, which they always know better than ourselves; nor can any bribes corrupt them to go out of their way, whilst they are consulting our good in our own despight.

Our disappointment in the other particular, in defiance of our humility, as it was more extraordinary, was more provoking. In short, Mrs Francis (for that was the name of the good woman of the house) no sooner received the news of our intended arrival, than she considered more the gentility than the humanity of her guests, and applied herself not to that which kindles, but to that which extinguishes fire, and, forgetting to put on her pot, fell to washing her house.

As the messenger who had brought my venison was impatient to be dispatched, I ordered it to be brought and laid on the table, in the room where I was seated; and the table not being large enough, one side, and that a very bloody one, was laid on the brick floor. I then ordered Mrs Francis to be called in, in order to give her instructions concerning it; in particular, what I would have roasted, and what baked; concluding that she would be highly pleased with the prospect of so much money being spent in her house, as she might have now reason to expect, if the wind continued only a few days longer to blow

Digitized by Google

from the same points whence it had blown for several weeks past.

I soon saw good cause, I must confess, to despise my own sagacity. Mrs Francis, having received her orders, without making any answer, snatched the side from the floor, which remained stained with blood, and bidding a servant to take up that on the table, left the room with no pleasant countenance, muttering to herself, that had 'she known the litter which was 'to have been made, she would not have taken such 'pains to wash her house that morning. If this was 'gentility, much good may it do such gentlefolks; 'for her part, she had no notion of it.'

From these murmurs, I received two hints. The one, that it was not from a mistake of our inclination that the good woman had starved us, but from wisely consulting her own dignity, or rather perhaps her vanity, to which our hunger was offered up as a sacrifice. The other, that I was now sitting in a damp room; a circumstance, though it had hitherto escaped my notice, from the colour of the bricks, which was by no means to be neglected in a valetudinary state.

My wife, who, besides discharging excellently well her own, and all the tender offices becoming the female character; who, besides being a faithful friend, an amiable companion, and a tender nurse, could likewise supply the wants of a decrepid husband, and occasionally perform his part, had, before this, discovered the immoderate attention to neatness in Mrs Francis, and provided against its ill consequences. She had found, though not under the same roof, a very snug apartment belonging to Mr Francis, and which had escaped the mop by his wife's being satisfied it could not possibly be visited by gentlefolks.

This was a dry, warm, oaken-floored barn, lined on both sides with wheaten straw, and opening at one end into a green field, and a beautiful prospect. Here, without hesitation, she ordered the cloth to be laid, and came hastily to snatch me from worse perils by water than by the common dangers of the sea.

Mrs Francis, who could not trust her own ears, or could not believe the footman in so extraordinary a

phænomenon,

Digitized by Google

phænomenon, followed my wife, and asked her if she had indeed ordered the cloth to be laid in the barn: she answered in the affirmative; upon which Mrs Francis declared she would not dispute her pleasure, but it was the first time, she believed, that quality had ever preferred a barn to a house. She shewed at the same time the most pregnant marks of contempt, and again lanented the labour she had undergone, through her ignorance of the absurd taste of her guests.

At length we were seated in one of the most pleasant spots, I believe, in the kingdom, and were regaled with our beans and bacon, in which there was nothing deficient but the quantity. The defect was, however, so deplorable, that we had consumed our whole dish before we had visibly lessened our hunger. We now waited, with impatience the arrival of our second course, which necessity, and not luxury, had dictated. This was a joint of mutton, which Mrs Francis had been ordered to provide; but when, being tired with expectation, we ordered our servants *to see for something else*, we were informed that there was nothing else; on which Mrs Francis being summoned, declared there was no such thing as mutton to be had at Ryde. When I expressed some astonishment at their having no butcher in a village so situated, she answered, they had a very good one, and one that killed all sorts of meat in season, beef two or three times a-year, and mutton the whole year round; but that it being then beans and pease time, he killed no meat, by reason he was sure of not selling it. This she had not thought worthy of communication, any more than that there lived a fisherman at next door, who was then provided with plenty of soals, and whitings, and lobsters, far superior to those which adorn a city-feast. This discovery being made by accident, we completed the best, the pleasanteſt, and the merrieſt meal, with more appetite, more real, solid luxury, and more festivity, than was ever seen in any entertainment at White's.

It may be wondered at, perhaps, that Mrs Francis should be so negligent of providing for her guests, as she may seem to be thus inattentive to her own interest;

Digitized by Google

tereſt: but this was not the caſe; for having clapt a poll-tax on our heads at our arrival, and determined at what price to diſcharge our bodies from her houſe, the leſs ſhe ſuffered any other to ſhare in the levy, the clearer it came into her own pocket; and that it was better to get twelve-pence in a ſhilling than ten-pence, which latter would be the caſe if ſhe afforded us fiſh at any rate.

Thus we paſt a moſt agreeable day, owing to good appetites and good humour; two hearty feeders, which will devour with ſatisfaction whatever food you place before them: whereas without theſe, the elegance of St James's, the charde, the perigord-pye, or the ortolan, the veniſon, turtle, or the cuſtard, may titillate the throat, but will never convey happineſs to the heart, or chearfulneſs to the countenance.

As the wind appeared ſtill immoveable, my wife propoſed my lying on ſhore. I preſently agreed, though in defiance of an act of parliament, by which perſons wandering abroad, and lodging in alehouſes, are decreed to be rogues and vagabonds; and this too, after having been very ſingularly officious in putting that law in execution.

My wife, having reconnoitred the houſe, reported, that there was one room in which were two beds. It was concluded, therefore, that ſhe and Harriot ſhould occupy one, and myſelf take poſſeſſion of the other. She added likewiſe an ingenious recommendation of this room, to one who had ſo long been in a cabbin, which it exactly reſembled, as it was ſunk down with age on one ſide, and was in the form of a ſhip with gunnels too.

For my own part, I make little doubt but this apartment was an antient temple, built with the materials of a wreck, and probably dedicated to Neptune, in honour of THE BLESSING ſent by him to the inhabitants; ſuch bleſſings having, in all ages, been very common to them. The timber employed in it confirms this opinion, being ſuch as is ſeldom uſed by any but ſhip-builders. I do not find, indeed, any mention of this matter in Hearn; but, perhaps, its antiquity was too modern to deſerve his notice.

Certain

Digitized by Google

Certain it is, that this iſland of Wight was not an early convert to Chriſtianity; nay, there is ſome reaſon to doubt whether it was ever entirely converted. But I have only time to touch ſlightly on all things of this kind, which, luckily for us, we have a ſociety whoſe peculiar profeſſion it is to diſcuſs and develope.

Sunday, July 19. This morning early I ſummoned Mrs Francis, in order to pay her the preceeding day's account. As I could recollect only two or three articles, I thought there was no neceſſity of pen and ink. In a ſingle inſtance only we had exceeded what the law allows *gratis* to a foot ſoldier on his march, *viz.* vinegar, ſalt, *&c.* and dreſſing his meat. I found, however, I was miſtaken in my calculation; for when the good woman attended with her bill, it contained as follows:

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Bread and beer - -	0	2	4
Wind - - - - - -	0	2	0
Rum - - - - - -	0	2	0
Dreſſing dinner - - -	0	3	0
Tea - - - - - - -	0	1	6
Firing - - - - - -	0	1	0
Lodging - - - - - -	0	1	6
Servants lodging - -	0	0	6
	£. 0	13	10

Now that five people, and two ſervants, ſhould live a day and a night at a public houſe for ſo ſmall a ſum, will appear incredible to any perſon in London above the degree of a chimney-ſweeper; but more aſtoniſhing will it ſeem, that theſe people ſhould remain ſo long at ſuch a houſe, without taſting any other delicacy than bread, ſmall beer, a tea-cup full of milk called cream, a glaſs of rum converted into punch by their own materials, and one bottle of *wind*, of which we only taſted a ſingle glaſs, though poſſibly, indeed, our ſervants drank the remainder of the bottle.

This *wind* is a liquor of Engliſh manufacture, and its flavour is thought very delicious by the generality of the Engliſh, who drink it in great quantities.

Digitized by Google

tities. Every ſeventh year is thought to produce as much as the other ſix. It is then drank ſo plentifully, that the whole nation are in a manner intoxicated by it; and conſequently, very little buſineſs is carried on at that ſeaſon.

It reſembles in colour the red wine, which is imported from Portugal, as it doth in its intoxicating quality; hence, and from this agreement in the orthography, the one is often confounded with the other, though both are ſeldom eſteemed by the ſame perſon. It is to be had in every pariſh of the kingdom, and a pretty large quantity is conſumed in the metropolis, where ſeveral taverns are ſet apart ſolely for the vendition of this liquor, the maſters never dealing in any other.

The diſagreement in our computation produced ſome ſmall remonſtrance to Mrs Francis on my ſide; but this received an immediate anſwer, 'She ſcorned 'to overcharge gentlemen: her houſe had been al-'ways frequented by the very beſt gentry of the 'iſland; and ſhe had never had a bill found fault 'with in her life, though ſhe had lived upwards of 'forty years in the houſe, and within that time the 'greateſt gentry in Hampſhire had been at it, and 'that Lawyer Willis never went to any other, when 'he came to thoſe parts. That for her part ſhe did 'not get her livelihood by travellers, who were gone 'and away, and ſhe never expected to ſee them 'more, but that her neighbours might come again; 'wherefore, to be ſure, they had the only right to 'complain.'

She was proceeding thus, and from her volubility of tongue ſeemed likely to ſtretch the diſcourſe to an immoderate length, when I ſuddenly cut all ſhort by paying the bill.

This morning our ladies went to church, more, I fear, from curioſity than religion; they were attended by the Captain in a moſt military attire, with his cockade in his hat, and his ſword by his ſide. So unuſual an appearance in this little chapel drew the attention of all preſent, and, probably, diſconcerted the women, who were in diſhabille, and wiſhed themſelves dreſt,

Digitized by Google

dreſt, for the ſake of the curate, who was the greateſt of their beholders.

While I was left alone, I received a viſit from Mr Francis himſelf, who was much more conſiderable as a farmer, than as innholder. Indeed, he left the latter entirely to the care of his wife, and he acted wiſely, I believe, in ſo doing.

As nothing more remarkable paſt on this day, I will cloſe it with the account of thoſe two characters, as far as a few days reſidence could inform me of them. If they ſhould appear as new to the reader as they did to me, he will not be diſpleaſed at finding them here.

This amiable couple ſeemed to border hard on their grand climacteric; nor indeed were they ſhy of owning enough to fix their ages within a year or two of that time. They appeared to be rather proud of having employed their time well, than aſhamed of having lived ſo long; the only reaſon which I could ever aſſign, why ſome fine ladies, and fine gentlemen too, ſhould deſire to be thought younger than they really are by the contemporaries of their grandchildren. Some, indeed, who too haſtily credit appearances, might doubt whether they had made ſo good a uſe of their time as I would inſinuate, ſince there was no appearance of any thing but poverty, want, and wretchedneſs about their houſe; nor could they produce any thing to a cuſtomer in exchange for his money, but a few bottles of *wind*, and ſpirituous liquors, and ſome very bad ale, to drink; with ruſty bacon and worſe cheeſe to eat. But then it ſhould be conſidered, on the other ſide, that whatever they received was almoſt as entirely clear profit as the bleſſing of a wreck itſelf; ſuch an inn being the very reverſe of a coffee-houſe; for here you can neither ſit for nothing, nor have any thing for your money.

Again, as many marks of want abounded every where, ſo were the marks of antiquity viſible. Scarce any thing was to be ſeen which had not ſome ſcare upon it, made by the hand of Time; not an utenſil, it was manifeſt, had been purchaſed within a dozen years laſt paſt; ſo that whatever money had come into the houſe during that period at leaſt, muſt have remained

Digitized by Google

mained in it, unleſs it had been ſent abroad for food, or other periſhable commodities; but theſe were ſupplied by a ſmall portion of the fruits of the farm, in which the farmer allowed he had a very good bargain. In fact, it is inconceivable what ſums may be collected by ſtarving only, and how eaſy it is for a man to die rich, if he will but be contented to live miſerable.

Nor is there in this kind of ſtarving any thing ſo terrible as ſome apprehend. It neither waſtes a man's fleſh, nor robs him of his chearfulneſs. The famous Cornaro's caſe well proves the contrary; and ſo did farmer Francis, who was of a round ſtature, had a plump round face, with a kind of ſmile on it, and ſeemed to borrow an air of wretchedneſs, rather from his coat's age, than from his own.

The truth is, there is a certain diet, which emaciates men more than any poſſible degree of abſtinence; though I do not remember to have ſeen any caution againſt it, either in Cheney, Arbuthnot, or in any other modern writer on regimen. Nay, the very name is not, I believe, in the learned Dr James's dictionary; all which is the more extraordinary, as it is a very common food in this kingdom, and the college themſelves were not long ſince very liberally entertained with it, by the preſent attorney and other eminent lawyers, in Lincoln's-inn-hall, and were all made horribly ſick by it.

But though it ſhould not be found among our Engliſh phyſical writers, we may be aſſured of meeting with it among the Greeks; for nothing conſiderable in nature eſcapes their notice; though many things conſiderable in them, it is to be feared have eſcaped the notice of their readers. The Greeks then, to all ſuch as feed too voraciouſly on this diet, give the name of HEAAUTOFAGI, which our phyſicians will, I ſuppoſe, tranſlate *men that eat themſelves*.

As nothing is ſo deſtructive to the body as this kind of food, ſo nothing is ſo plentiful and cheap; but it was perhaps the only cheap thing the farmer diſliked. Probably living much on fiſh might produce this diſguſt; for Diodorus Siculus attributes the ſame averſion in a people of Æthiopia to the ſame cauſe: he calls them the fiſh-eaters; and aſſerts, that they cannot

Digitized by Google

not be brought to eat a ſingle meal with the Heautofagi by any perſuaſion, threat, or violence whatever, not even though they ſhould kill their children before their faces.

What hath puzzled our phyſicians, and prevented them from ſetting this matter in the cleareſt light, is poſſibly one ſimple miſtake, ariſing from a very excuſable ignorance; that the paſſions of men are capable of ſwallowing food as well as their appetites; that the former, in feeding, reſemble the ſtate of thoſe animals who chew the cud; and therefore, ſuch men, in ſome ſenſe, may be ſaid to prey on themſelves, and as it were to devour their own entrails. And hence enſues a meagre aſpect, and thin habit of body, as ſurely as from what is called a conſumption.

Our farmer was one of theſe. He had no more paſſion than an Ichthuofagus or Ethiopian fiſher. He wiſhed not for any thing, thought not of any thing; indeed, he ſcarce did any thing, or ſaid any thing. Here I cannot be underſtood ſtrictly; for then I muſt deſcribe a non-entity, whereas I would rob him of nothing but that free-agency which is the cauſe of all the corruption and all the miſery of human nature. No man, indeed, ever did more than the farmer, for he was an abſolute ſlave to labour all the week; but in truth, as my ſagacious reader muſt have at firſt apprehended, when I ſaid he reſigned the care of the houſe to his wife, I meant more than I then expreſſed, even the houſe and all that belonged to it; for he was really a farmer, only under the direction of his wife. In a word, ſo compoſed, ſo ſerene, ſo placid a countenance, I never ſaw; and he ſatisfied himſelf by anſwering to every queſtion he was aſked; 'I don't 'know any thing about it, Sir; I leaves all that to 'my wife.'

Now, as a couple of this kind would, like two veſſels of oil, have made no compoſition in life, and for want of all ſavour muſt have pallied every taſte; Nature or Fortune, or both of them, took care to provide a proper quantity of acid, in the materials that formed the wife, and to render her a perfect *Help-mate* for ſo tranquil a huſband. She abounded in whatſo-

Digitized by Google

ever he was defective; that is to say, in almost every thing. She was indeed as vinegar to oil, or a brisk wind to a standing-pool, and preserved all from stagnation and corruption.

Quin the player, on taking a nice and severe survey of a fellow-comedian, burst forth into this exclamation, 'If that fellow be not a rogue, God Al-'mighty doth not write a legible 'hand.' Whether he guessed right or no, is not worth my while to examine. Certain it is, that the latter, having wrought his features into a proper harmony to become the characters of Iago, Shylock, and others of the same cast, gave us a semblance of truth to the observation, that was sufficient to confirm the wit of it. Indeed, we may remark, in favour of the physiognomist, though the law has made him a rogue and a vagabond, that Nature is seldom curious in her works within, without employing some little pains on the outside; and this more particularly in mischievous characters, in forming which, as Mr Derham observes in venomous insects, as the sting or saw of a wasp, she is sometimes wonderfully industrious. Now, when she hath thus completely armed her hero, to carry on a war with man, she never fails of furnishing that innocent lambkin with some means of knowing his enemy, and foreseeing his designs. Thus she hath been observed to act in the case of a rattlesnake, which never meditates a human prey, without giving warning of his approach.

This observation will, I am convinced, hold most true, if applied to the most venomous individuals of human insects. A tyrant, a trickster, and a bully, generally wear the marks of their several dispositions in their countenance; so do the vixen, the shrew, the scold, and all other females of the like kind. But, perhaps, Nature had never afforded a stronger example of all this, than in the case of Mrs Francis. She was a short, squat woman; her head was closely joined to her shoulders, where it was fixed somewhat awry; every feature of her countenance was sharp and pointed; her face was furrowed with the small pox; and her complexion, which seemed to be able to turn milk to curds, not a little resembled in colour such milk as had already undergone that operation. She appeared, indeed,

Digitized by Google

indeed, to have many ſymptoms of a deep jaundice in her look; but the ſtrength and firmneſs of her voice over-balanced them all; the tone of this was a ſharp treble at a diſtance; for I ſeldom heard it on the ſame floor, but was uſually waked with it in the morning, and entertained with it almoſt continually through the whole day.

Though vocal be uſually put in oppoſition to inſtrumental muſic; I queſtion whether this might not be thought to partake of the nature of both; for ſhe played on two inſtruments, which ſhe ſeemed to keep for no other uſe from morning till night; theſe were two maids, or rather ſcolding-ſtocks, who, I ſuppoſe, by ſome means or other, earned their board, and ſhe gave them their lodging gratis, or for no other ſervice than to keep her lungs in conſtant exerciſe.

She differed, as I have ſaid, in every particular from her huſband; but very remarkably in this, that as it was impoſſible to diſpleaſe him, ſo it was as impoſſible to pleaſe her; and as no art could remove a ſmile from his countenance, ſo could no art carry it into hers. If her bills were remonſtrated againſt, ſhe was offended with the tacit cenſure of her fair-dealing; if they were not, ſhe ſeemed to regard it as a tacit ſarcaſm on her folly, which might have ſet down larger prices with the ſame ſucceſs. On this latter hint ſhe did indeed improve; for ſhe daily raiſed ſome of her articles. A pennyworth of fire was to-day rated at a ſhilling, to-morrow at eighteen-pence; and if ſhe dreſt us two diſhes for two ſhillings on the Saturday, we paid half a crown for the cookery of one on the Sunday; and wherever ſhe was paid, ſhe never left the room without lamenting the ſmall amount of her bill; ſaying, 'ſhe knew not how it was that 'others got their money by gentlefolks, but, for her 'part, ſhe had not the art of it.' When ſhe was aſked, why ſhe complained, when ſhe was paid all ſhe demanded, ſhe anſwered, 'ſhe could not deny that, 'nor did ſhe know ſhe omitted any thing: but that it 'was but a poor bill for gentlefolks to pay.'

I accounted for all this by her having heard, that it is a maxim with the principal innholders on the

Digitized by Google

continent, to levy conſiderable ſums on their gueſts, who travel with many horſes and ſervants, though ſuch gueſts ſhould eat little or nothing in their houſes; the method being, I believe, in ſuch caſes, to lay a capitation on the horſes, and not on their maſters. But ſhe did not conſider, that in moſt of theſe inns a very great degree of hunger, without any degree of delicacy, may be ſatisfied; and that in all ſuch inns there is ſome appearance, at leaſt, of proviſion, as well as of a man-cook to dreſs it, one of the hoſtlers being always furniſhed with a cook's cap, waiſtcoat, and apron, ready to attend gentlemen and ladies on their ſummons; that the caſe therefore of ſuch inns differed from hers, where there was nothing to eat or to drink; and in reality no houſe to inhabit, no chair to ſit upon, nor any bed to ly in; that one third or fourth part therefore of the levy impoſed at inns was in truth a higher tax than the whole was when laid on in the other, where, in order to raiſe a ſmall ſum, a man is obliged to ſubmit to pay as many various ways for the ſame thing as he doth to the government, for the light which enters through his own window into his own houſe, from his own eſtate; ſuch are the articles of bread and beer, firing, eating, and dreſſing dinner.

The foregoing is a very imperfect ſketch of this extraordinary couple; for every thing is here lowered inſtead of being heightened. Thoſe who would ſee them ſet forth in more lively colours, and with the proper ornaments, may read the deſcription of the Furies in ſome of the claſſical poets, or of the Stoic philoſophers in the works of Lucian.

Monday, July 20. This day nothing remarkable paſſed; Mrs Francis levied a tax of fourteen ſhillings for the Sunday. We regaled ourſelves at dinner with veniſon and good claret of our own; and, in the afternoon, the women, attended by the Captain, walked to ſee a delightful ſcene two miles diſtant, with the beauties of which they declared themſelves moſt highly charmed at their return, as well as with the goodneſs of the lady of the manſion, who had ſlipt out of the way, that my wife and her company might re-

freſh

Digitized by Google

freſh themſelves with the flowers and fruits with which her garden abounded.

Tueſday, July 21. This day, having paid our taxes of yeſterday, we were permitted to regale ourſelves with more veniſon. Some of this we would willingly have exchanged for mutton; but no ſuch fleſh was to be had nearer than Portſmouth, from whence it would have coſt more to convey a joint to us, than the freight of a Portugal-ham from Liſbon to London amounts to: for though the water-carriage be ſomewhat cheaper here than at Deal, yet can you find no waterman who will go on board his boat, unleſs by two or three hours rowing he can get drunk for the reſidue of the week.

And here I have an opportunity, which poſſibly may not offer again, of publiſhing ſome obſervations on that political œconomy of this nation, which, as it concerns only the regulation of the mob, is below the notice of our great men; though on the due regulation of this order depend many emoluments, which the great men themſelves, or at leaſt many who tread cloſe on their heels, may enjoy, as well as ſome dangers which may ſome time or other ariſe from introducing a pure ſtate of anarchy among them. I will repreſent the caſe as it appears to me, very fairly and impartially, between the mob and their betters.

The whole miſchief which infects this part of our œconomy, ariſes from the vague and uncertain uſe of a word called Liberty, of which as ſcarce any two men with whom I have ever converſed ſeem to have one and the ſame idea, I am inclined to doubt whether there be any ſimple univerſal notion repreſented by this word, or whether it conveys any clearer or more determinate idea, than ſome of thoſe old Punic compoſition of ſyllables, preſerved in one of the comedies of Plautus, but at preſent, as I conceive, not ſuppoſed to be underſtood by any one.

By liberty, however, I apprehend, is commonly underſtood the power of doing what we pleaſe: not abſolutely; for then it would be inconſiſtent with law, by whoſe controul the liberty of the freeſt people,

Digitized by Google

except only the Hottentots and wild Indians, must always be restrained.

But, indeed, however largely we extend, or however moderately we confine, the sense of the word, no politician will, I presume, contend, that it is to pervade in an equal degree, and be with the same extent enjoyed, by every member of society; no such polity having been ever found, unless among those vile people just before commemorated. Among the Greeks and Romans, the servile and free conditions were opposed to each other: and no man who had the misfortune to be enrolled under the former could lay any claim to liberty, till the right was conveyed to him by that master whose slave he was, either by the means of conquest, of purchase, or of birth.

This was the state of all the free nations in the world; and this, till very lately, was understood to be the case of our own.

I will not indeed say this is the case at present, the lowest class of our people having shaken off all the shackles of their superiors, and become not only as free, but even freer, than most of their superiors. I believe it cannot be doubted, though perhaps we have no recent instance of it, that the personal attendance of every man, who hath three hundred pounds *per annum*, in parliament, is indispensably his duty; and that, if the citizens and burgesses of any city or borough shall chuse such a one, however reluctant he appear, he may be obliged to attend, and be forcibly brought to his duty by the serjeant at arms.

Again, there are numbers of subordinate offices, some of which are of burden, and others of expence, in the civil government: all of which, persons who are qualified are liable to have imposed on them, may be obliged to undertake and properly execute, notwithstanding any bodily labour or even danger, to which they may subject themselves, under the penalty of fines and imprisonment; nay, and what may appear somewhat hard, may be compelled to satisfy the losses which are eventually incident, to that of sheriff in particular, out of their own private fortunes; and though this should prove the ruin of a family, yet the public,

to

to whom the price is due, incurs no debt of obligation to preſerve its officer harmleſs, let his innocence appear ever ſo clearly.

I purpoſely omit the mention of thoſe military or militiary duties, which our old conſtitution laid upon its greateſt members. Theſe might, indeed, ſupply their poſts with ſome other able-bodied men; but, if no ſuch could have been found, the obligation nevertheleſs remained, and they were compellable to ſerve in their own proper perſons.

The only one, therefore, who is poſſeſſed of abſolute liberty, is the loweſt member of the ſociety, who, if he prefers hunger, or the wild product of the fields, hedges, lanes, and rivers, with the indulgence of eaſe and lazineſs, to a food a little more delicate, but purchaſed at the expence of labour, may lay himſelf under a ſhade: nor can be forced to take the other alternative from that which he hath, I will not affirm whether wiſely or fooliſhly, choſen.

Here I may, perhaps, be reminded of the laſt vagrant act, where all ſuch perſons are compellable to work for the uſual and accuſtomed wages allowed in the place; but this is a clauſe little known to the juſtices of the peace, and leaſt likely to be executed by thoſe who do know it, as they know likewiſe that it is formed on the ancient power of the juſtices to fix and ſettle theſe wages every year, making proper allowances for the ſcarcity and plenty of the times, the cheapneſs and dearneſs of the place; and that *the uſual and accuſtomed wages* are words without any force or meaning, when there are no ſuch; but every man ſpunges and raps whatever he can get; and will haggle as long, and ſtruggle as hard, to cheat his employer of two-pence in a day's labour, as an honeſt tradeſman will to cheat his cuſtomers of th ſame ſum in a yard of cloth or ſilk.

It is a great pity then that this power, or rather this practice, was not revived; but this having been ſo long omitted, that it is become obſolete, will be beſt done by a new law, in which this power, as well as the conſequent power of forcing the poor to labour at a moderate and reaſonable rate, ſhould be well conſidered,

Digitized by Google

dered, and their execution facilitated: for gentlemen who give their time and labour *gratis*, and even voluntarily, to the public, have a right to expect that all their business be made as easy as possible: and to enact laws without doing this, is to fill our statute-books, much too full already, still fuller with dead letter, of no use but to the printer of the acts of parliament.

That the evil which I have here pointed at is of itself worth redressing, is, I apprehend, no subject of dispute; for why should any persons in distress be deprived of the assistance of their fellow-subjects, when they are willing amply to reward them for their labour? or, why should the lowest of the people be permitted to exact ten times the value of their work? For those exactions increase with the degrees of necessity in their object, insomuch that on the former side many are horribly imposed upon, and that often in no trifling matters. I was very well assured, that at Deal no less than ten guineas was required and paid by the supercargo of an Indiaman, for carrying him on board two miles from the shore, when she was just ready to sail; so that his necessity, as his pillager well understood, was absolute. Again, many others, whose indignation will not submit to such plunder, are forced to refuse the assistance, though they are often great sufferers by so doing. On the latter side, the lowest of the people are encouraged in laziness and idleness, while they live by a twentieth part of the labour that ought to maintain them, which is diametrically opposite to the interest of the public; for that requires a great deal to be done, not to be paid, for a little. And moreover, they are confirmed in habits of exaction, and are taught to consider the distresses of their superiors as their own fair emolument.

But enough of this matter, of which I at first intended only to convey a hint to those who are alone capable of applying the remedy, though they are the last to whom the notice of these evils would occur, without some such monitor as myself, who am forced to travel about the world in the form of a passenger. I cannot but say I heartily wish our governors would attentively

Digitized by Google

attentively consider this method of fixing the price of labour, and by that means of compelling the poor to work, since the due execution of such powers will, I apprehend, be found the true and only means of making them useful, and of advancing trade, from its present visible declining state, to the height to which Sir William Petyt, in his Political Arithmetic, thinks it capable of being carried.

In the afternoon, the lady of the above-mentioned mansion called at our inn, and left her compliments to us with Mrs Francis, with an assurance, that while we continued windbound in that place, where she feared we could be but indifferently accommodated, we were extremely welcome to the use of any thing which her garden or her house afforded. So polite a message convinced us, in spite of some arguments to the contrary, that we were not on the coast of Africa, or on some island where the few savage inhabitants have little of human in them besides their form.

And here I mean nothing less than to derogate from the merit of this lady, who is not only extremely polite in her behaviour to strangers of her own rank, but so extremely good and charitable to all her poor neighbours, who stand in need of her assistance, that she hath the universal love and praises of all who live near her. But, in reality, how little doth the acquisition of so valuable a character, and the full indulgence of so worthy a disposition, cost those who possess it? Both are accomplished by the very offals which fall from a table moderately plentiful. That they are enjoyed therefore by so few, arises truly from there being so few who have any such disposition to gratify, or who aim at any such character.

Wednesday, July 22. The morning, after having been mulcted as usual, we dispatched a servant with proper acknowledgments of the lady's goodness; but confined our wants entirely to the productions of her garden. He soon returned, in company with the gardener, both richly laden with almost every particular which a garden at this most fruitful season of the year produces.

While we were regaling ourselves with these, towards

Digitized by Google

wards the close of our dinner, we received orders from our commander, who had dined that day with some inferior officers on board a man of war, to return instantly to the ship; for that the wind was become favourable, and he should weigh that evening. These orders were soon followed by the Captain himself, who was still in the utmost hurry, though the occasion of it had long since ceased; for the wind had indeed a little shifted that afternoon, but was before this very quietly set down in its old quarters.

This last was a lucky hit for me: for, as the Captain, to whose orders we resolved to pay no obedience, unless delivered by himself, did not return till past six; so much time seemed requisite to put up the furniture of our bed-chamber or dining-room, for almost every article, even to some of the chairs, were either our own or the Captain's property; so much more in conveying it, as well as myself, as dead a luggage as any, to the shore, and thence to the ship, that the night threatened first to overtake us. A terrible circumstance to me, in my decayed condition; especially as very heavy showers of rain, attended with a high wind, continued to fall incessantly; the being carried through which, two miles in the dark, in a wet and open boat, seemed little less than certain death.

However, as my commander was absolute, his orders peremptory, and my obedience necessary, I resolved to avail myself of a philosophy which hath been of notable use to me in the latter part of my life, and which is contained in this hemistich of Virgil:

-----*Superanda omnis fortuna ferenda est.*

The meaning of which, if Virgil had any, I think I rightly understood and rightly applied.

As I was therefore to be entirely passive in my motion, I resolved to abandon myself to the conduct of those who were to carry me into a cart, when it returned from unloading the goods.

But before this the Captain, perceiving what had happened in the clouds, and that the wind remained as much his enemy as ever, came up stairs to me, with a reprieve till the morning. This was, I own, very agree-

Digitized by Google

agreeable news, and I little regretted the trouble of refurniſhing my apartment, by ſending back for the goods.

Mrs Francis was not well pleaſed with this. As ſhe underſtood the reprieve to be only till the morning, ſhe ſaw nothing but lodging to be poſſibly added, out of which ſhe was to deduct fire and candle, and the remainder, ſhe thought, would ſcarce pay her for her trouble. She exerted therefore all the ill-humour of which ſhe was miſtreſs, and did all ſhe could to thwart and perplex every thing during the whole evening.

Thurſday, July 23. Early in the morning, the Captain, who had remained on ſhore all night, came to viſit us, and to preſs us to make haſte on board. 'I 'am reſolved,' ſays he, 'not to loſe a moment, now 'the wind is coming about fair; for my own part, I 'never was ſurer of a wind in all my life.' I uſe his very words; nor will I preſume to interpret or comment upon them farther, than by obſerving, that they were ſpoke in the utmoſt hurry.

We promiſed to be ready as ſoon as breakfaſt was over; but this was not ſo ſoon as was expected; for in removing our goods the evening before, the tea-cheſt was unhappily loſt.

Every place was immediately ſearched, and many where it was impoſſible for it to be; for this was a loſs of much greater conſequence than it may at firſt ſeem to many of my readers. Ladies and valetudinarians do not eaſily diſpenſe with the uſe of this ſovereign cordial, in a ſingle inſtance; but to undertake a long voyage, without any probability of being ſupplied with it the whole way, was above the reach of patience. And yet, dreadful as this calamity was, it ſeemed unavoidable. The whole town of Ryde could not ſupply a ſingle leaf; for as to what Mrs Francis and the ſhop called by that name, it was not of Chineſe growth. It did not indeed in the leaſt reſemble tea, either in ſmell or taſte; or in any particular, unleſs in being a leaf: for it was in truth no other than a tobacco of the mundungus ſpecies. And as for the hopes of relief in any other port, they were not to be depended upon; for the Captain had poſitively declared

Digitized by Google

clared he was sure of a wind, and would let go his anchor no more till he arrived in the Tajo.

When a good deal of time had been spent, most of it indeed wasted, on this occasion, a thought occurred, which every one wondered at its not having presented itself the first moment. This was to apply to the good lady, who could not fail of pitying and relieving such distress. A messenger was immediately dispatched, with an account of our misfortune; till whose return we employed ourselves in preparatives for our departure, that we might have nothing to do but to swallow our breakfast when it arrived. The tea-chest, though of no less consequence to us than the military chest to a general, was given up as lost, or rather as stolen; for though I would not, for the world, mention any particular name, it is certain we had suspicions, and all, I am afraid, fell on the same person.

The man returned from the worthy lady with much expedition, and brought with him a canister of tea, dispatched with so true a generosity, as well as politeness, that, if our voyage had been as long again, we should have incurred no danger of being brought to a short allowance in this most important article. At the very same instant likewise arrived William the footman, with our own tea-chest. It had been, indeed, left in the hoy, when the other goods were relanded, as William, when he first heard it was missing, had suspected; and whence, had not the owner of the hoy been unluckily out of the way, he had retrieved it soon enough to have prevented our giving the lady an opportunity of displaying some part of her goodness.

To search the hoy was, indeed, too natural a suggestion to have escaped any one, nor did it escape being mentioned by many of us; but we were dissuaded from it by my wife's maid, who perfectly well remembered she had left the chest in the bed-chamber; for that she had never given it out of her hand in her way to or from the hoy: but William, perhaps, knew the maid better, and best understood how far she was to be believed; for otherwise he would hardly of his own accord, after hearing her declarations, have

hunted

Digitized by Google

hunted out the hoyman, with much pains and difficulty.

Thus ended this ſcene, which begun with ſuch appearance of diſtreſs, and ended with becoming the ſubject of mirth and laughter.

Nothing now remained but to pay our taxes, which were indeed laid on with inconceivable ſeverity. Lodging was raiſed ſix-pence, fire in the ſame proportion, and even candles, which had hitherto eſcaped, were charged, with a wantonneſs of impoſition, from the beginning, and placed under the ſtile of overſight. We were raiſed a whole pound, whereas we had only burnt ten, in five nights, and the pound conſiſted of twenty-four.

Laſtly, an attempt was made, which almoſt as far exceeds human credulity to believe, as it did human patience to ſubmit to. This was to make us pay as much for exiſting an hour or two as for exiſting a whole day; and dreſſing dinner was introduced as an article, though we left the houſe before either pot or ſpit had approached the fire. Here, I own, my patience failed me, and I became an example of the truth of the obſervation, 'That all tyranny and oppreſſion 'may be carried too far, and that a yoke may be 'made too intolerable for the neck of the tameſt ſlave.' When I remonſtrated with ſome warmth againſt this grievance, Mrs Francis gave me a look, and left the room without making any anſwer. She returned in a minute, running to me with pen, ink, and paper in her hand, and deſired me to make my own bill; 'for ſhe hoped,' ſhe ſaid, 'I did not expect that her 'houſe was to be dirtied, and her goods ſpoiled and 'conſumed for nothing. The whole is but thirteen 'ſhillings. Can gentlefolks ly a whole night at a 'public houſe for leſs? If they can, I am ſure it is 'time to give off being a landlady: but pay me what 'you pleaſe; I would have people know that I value 'money as little as other folks. But I was always 'a fool, as I ſays to my huſband, and never knows 'which ſide my bread is buttered of. And yet, to be 'ſure, your honour ſhall be my warning not to be bit 'ſo again. Some folks knows better than other ſome,

Digitized by Google

'how to make their bills. Candles! why, yes, to be 'ſure; why ſhould not travellers pay for candles? I 'am ſure I pays for my candles, and the chandler 'pays the King's Majeſty for them; and if he did 'not, I muſt, ſo as it comes to the ſame thing in the 'end. To be ſure, I am out of ſixteens at preſent; 'but theſe burn as white and as clear, though not 'quite ſo large. I expects my chandler here ſoon, or 'I would ſend to Portſmouth, if your honour was to 'ſtay any time longer. But when folks ſtays only for 'a wind, you knows, there can be no dependance on 'ſuch!' Here ſhe put on a little ſlyneſs of aſpect, and ſeemed willing to ſubmit to interruption. I interrupted her, accordingly, by throwing down half a guinea, and declared I had no more Engliſh money, which was indeed true; and as ſhe could not immediately change the thirty-ſix ſhilling pieces, it put a final end to the diſpute. Mrs Francis ſoon left the room, and we ſoon after left the houſe; nor would this good woman ſee us, or wiſh us a good voyage.

I muſt not, however, quit this place, where we had been ſo ill treated, without doing it impartial juſtice, and recording what may, with the ſtricteſt truth, be ſaid in its favour.

Firſt then, as to its ſituation, it is, I think, moſt delightful, and in the moſt pleaſant ſpot in the whole iſland. It is true, it wants the advantage of that beautiful river which leads from Newport to Cowes: but the proſpect here extending to the ſea, and taking in Portſmouth, Spithead, and St Helen's, would be more than a recompence for the loſs of the Thames itſelf, even in the moſt delightful part of Berkſhire or Buckinghamſhire, though another Denham, or another Pope, ſhould unite in celebrating it. For my own part, I confeſs myſelf ſo entirely fond of a ſea-proſpect, that I think nothing on the land can equal it; and if it be ſet off with ſhipping, I deſire to borrow no ornament from the *terra firma*. A fleet of ſhips is, in my opinion, the nobleſt object which the art of man hath ever produced; and far beyond the power of thoſe architects who deal in brick, in ſtone, or in marble.

When

Digitized by Google

When the late Sir Robert Walpole, one of the beſt of men and of miniſters, uſed to equip us a yearly fleet at Spithead, his enemies of taſte muſt have allowed that he, at leaſt, treated the nation with a fine ſight for their money; a much finer, indeed, than the ſame expence in an encampment could have produced. For what, indeed, is the beſt idea which the proſpect of a number of hats can furniſh to the mind; but of a number of men forming themſelves into a ſociety, before the art of building more ſubſtantial houſes was known? This, perhaps, would be agreeable enough; but in truth, there is a much worſe idea ready to ſtep in before it; and that is, of a body of cut-throats, the ſupports of tyranny, the invaders of the juſt liberties and properties of mankind, the plunderers of the induſtrious, the raviſhers of the chaſte, the murderers of the innocent, and, in a word, the deſtroyers of the plenty, the peace, and the ſafety of their fellow-creatures.

And what, it may be ſaid, are theſe men of war, which ſeem ſo delightful an object to our eyes? Are they not alike the ſupport of tyranny, and oppreſſion of innocence, carrying with them deſolation and ruin where-ever their maſters pleaſe to ſend them? This is indeed too true; and however the ſhip of war may, in its bulk and equipment, exceed the honeſt merchantman, I heartily wiſh there was no neceſſity for it; for though I muſt own the ſuperior beauty of the object on one ſide, I am more pleaſed with the ſuperior excellence of the idea, which I can raiſe in my mind on the other; while I reflect on the art and induſtry of mankind, engaged in the daily improvements of commerce, to the mutual benefit of all countries, and to the eſtabliſhment and happineſs of ſocial life.

This pleaſant village is ſituated on a gentle aſcent from the water, whence it affords that charming proſpect I have above deſcribed. Its ſoil is a gravel, which, aſſiſted with its declivity, preſerves it always ſo dry, that immediately after the moſt violent rain, a fine lady may walk without wetting her ſilken ſhoes. The fertility of the place is apparent from its extraordinary verdure, and it is ſo ſhaded with large and flouriſhing

Digitized by Google

elms, that its narrow lanes are a natural grove or walk, which, in the regularity of its plantation, vies with the power of art, and in its wanton exuberancy greatly exceeds it.

In a field, in the aſcent of this hill, about a quarter of a mile from the ſea, ſtands a neat little chapel. It is very ſmall, but adequate to the number of inhabitants: for the pariſh doth not ſeem to contain above thirty houſes.

At about two miles diſtant from this pariſh, lives that polite and good lady to whoſe kindneſs we were ſo much obliged. It is placed on a hill, whoſe bottom is waſhed by the ſea, and which, from its eminence at top, commands a view of great part of the iſland, as well as it does that of the oppoſite ſhore. This houſe was formerly built by one Boyce, who, from a blackſmith at Goſport, became poſſeſſed, by great ſucceſs in ſmuggling, of forty thouſand pounds. With part of this he purchaſed an eſtate here, and by chance, probably, fixed on this ſpot for building a large houſe. Perhaps the convenience of carrying on his buſineſs, to which it is ſo well adapted, might dictate the ſituation to him. We can hardly, at leaſt, attribute it to the ſame taſte with which he furniſhed his houſe, or at leaſt his library, by ſending an order to a bookſeller in London, to pack him up five hundred pounds worth of his handſomeſt books. They tell here ſeveral almoſt incredible ſtories of the ignorance, the folly, and the pride, which this poor man and his wife diſcovered during the ſhort continuance of his proſperity; for he did not long eſcape the ſharp eyes of the revenue-ſolicitors, and was, by extents from the Court of Exchequer, ſoon reduced below his original ſtate, to that of confinement in the Fleet. All his effects were ſold, and, among the reſt, his books, by an auction at Portſmouth, for a very ſmall price; for the bookſeller was now diſcovered to have been perfectly a maſter of his trade, and relying on Mr Boyce's finding little time to read, had ſent him not only the moſt laſting wares of his ſhop, but duplicates of the ſame, under different titles.

His

His estate and house were purchased by a gentleman of these parts, whose widow now enjoys them, and who hath improved them, particularly her gardens, with so elegant a taste, that the painter who would assist his imagination in the composition of a most exquisite landscape, or the poet who would describe an earthly paradise, could no where furnish themselves with a richer pattern.

We left this place about eleven in the morning, and were again conveyed with more sunshine than wind aboard our ship.

Whence our Captain had acquired his power of prophecy, when he promised us and himself a prosperous wind, I will not determine; it is sufficient to observe, that he was a false prophet, and that the weathercocks continued to point as before.

He would not, however, so easily give up his skill in prediction. He persevered in asserting that the wind was changed, and having weighed his anchor, fell down that afternoon to St Helen's, which was at about the distance of five miles; and whither his friend the tide, in defiance of the wind, which was most manifestly against him, softly wafted him in as many hours.

Here, about seven in the evening, before which time we could not procure it, we sat down to regale ourselves with some roasted venison, which was much better dressed than we imagined it would be, and an excellent cold pasty which my wife had made at Ryde, and which we had reserved uncut to eat on board our ship, whither we all chearfully exulted in being returned from the presence of Mrs Francis, who, by the exact resemblance she bore to a Fury, seemed to have been with no great propriety settled in paradise.

Friday, July 24. As we passed by Spithead on the preceding evening, we saw the two regiments of soldiers who were just returned from Gibraltar and Minorca; and this day a lieutenant belonging to one of them, who was the Captain's nephew, came to pay a visit to his uncle. He was what is called by some a very pretty fellow; indeed, much too pretty a fellow at his years; for he was turned of thirty-four,

Digitized by Google

though his addreſs and converſation would have become him more before he had reached twenty. In his converſation, it is true, there was ſomething military enough, as it conſiſted chiefly of oaths, and of the great actions and wiſe ſayings of Jack, and Will, and Tom of our regiment, a phraſe eternally in his mouth; and he ſeemed to conclude, that it conveyed to all the officers ſuch a degree of public notoriety and importance, that it intitled him, like the head of a profeſſion, or a firſt miniſter, to be the ſubject of converſation among thoſe who had not the leaſt perſonal acquaintance with him. This did not much ſurpriſe me, as I have ſeen ſeveral examples of the ſame; but the defects in his addreſs, eſpecially to the women, were ſo great, that they ſeemed abſolutely inconſiſtent with the behaviour of a pretty fellow, much leſs of one in a red coat; and yet, beſides having been eleven years in the army, he had had, as his uncle informed me, an education in France. This, I own, would have appeared to have been abſolutely thrown away, had not his animal ſpirits, which were likewiſe thrown away upon him in great abundance, borne the viſible ſtamp of the growth of that country. The character, to which he had an indiſputable title, was that of a merry fellow; ſo very merry was he, that he laughed at every thing he ſaid, and always before he ſpoke. Poſſibly, indeed, he often laughed at what he did not utter, for every ſpeech began with a laugh, though it did not always end with a jeſt. There was no great analogy between the characters of the uncle and the nephew, and yet they ſeemed entirely to agree in enjoying the honour which the red coat did to his family. This the uncle expreſſed with great pleaſure in his countenance, and ſeemed deſirous of ſhewing all preſent the honour which he had for his nephew, who, on his ſide, was at ſome pains to convince us of his concurring in this opinion, and, at the ſame time, of diſplaying the contempt he had for the parts, as well as the occupation, of his uncle, which he ſeemed to think reflected ſome diſgrace on himſelf, who was a member of that profeſſion which makes every man a gentleman. Not that I would be underſtood to inſinuate,

Digitized by Google

nuate, that the nephew endeavoured to ſhake off or diſown his uncle, or indeed, to keep him at any diſtance. On the contrary, he treated him with the utmoſt familiarity, often calling him, 'Dick,' and 'Dear Dick,' and 'old Dick,' and frequently beginning an oration with, 'D---n me, Dick.'

All this condeſcenſion on the part of the young man was received with ſuitable marks of complaiſance and obligation by the old one; eſpecally when it was attended with evidences of the ſame familiarity with general officers, and other perſons of rank; one of whom, in particular, I know to have the pride and inſolence of the devil himſelf, and who, without ſome ſtrong bias of intereſt, is no more liable to converſe familiarly with a lieutenant, than of being miſtaken in his judgment of a fool; which was not, perhaps, ſo certainly the caſe of the worthy lieutenant, who, in declaring to us the qualifications which recommended men to his countenance and converſation, as well as what effectually ſet a bar to all hopes of that honour, exclaimed, 'No, Sir, by the D---, 'I hate all fools---No, d---n me, excuſe me for that. 'That's a little too much, old Dick. There are two 'or three officers of our regiment, whom I know to 'be fools; but d---n me if I am ever ſeen in their 'company. If a man hath a fool of a relation, Dick, 'you know he can't help that, old boy.'

Such jokes as theſe the old man not only took in good part, but glibly gulped down the whole narrative of his nephew; nor did he, I am convinced, in the leaſt doubt of our as readily ſwallowing the ſame. This made him ſo charmed with the Lieutenant, that it is propable we ſhould have been peſtered with him the whole evening, had not the north wind, dearer to our ſea-captain even than this glory of his family, ſprung ſuddenly up, and called aloud to him to weigh his anchor.

While this ceremony was performing, the ſea-captain ordered out his boat to row the land-captain to ſhore; not indeed on an uninhabited iſland, but one which, in this part, looked but little better, not preſenting us the view of a ſingle houſe. Indeed, our

old

Digitized by Google

old friend, when his boat returned on ſhore, perhaps being no longer able to ſtifle his envy of the ſuperiority of his nephew, told us, with a ſmile, that the young man had a good five mile to walk, before he could be accommodated with a paſſage to Portſmouth.

It appeared now, that the Captain had been only miſtaken in the date of his prediction, by placing the event a day earlier than it happened; for the wind, which now aroſe, was not only favourable, but briſk, and was no ſooner in reach of our ſails than it ſwept us away by the back of the Iſle of Wight; and having in the night carried us by Chriſt-church and Peveral-point, brought us the next noon, *Saturday, July* 29, off the iſland of Portland, ſo famous for the ſmallneſs and ſweetneſs of its mutton, of which a leg ſeldom weighs four pounds. We would have bought a ſheep, but our Captain would not permit it; tho' he needed not to have been in ſuch a hurry, for preſently *the* wind, I will not poſitively aſſert in reſentment of his ſurlineſs, ſhewed him a dog's trick, and ſlily ſlipt back again to his ſummer-houſe in the ſouth-weſt.

The Captain now grew out-ageous, and declaring open war with the wind, took a reſolution, rather more bold than wiſe, of ſailing in defiance of it, and in its teeth. He ſwore he would let go his anchor no more, but would beat the ſea while he had either yard or ſail left. He accordingly ſtood from the ſhore, and made ſo large a tack, that before night, though he ſeemed to advance but little on his way, he was got out of ſight of land.

Towards the evening, the wind began, in the Captain's own language, and, indeed, to freſhen ſo much, that before ten it blew a perfect hurricane. The Captain having got, as he ſuppoſed, to a ſafe diſtance, tacked again towards the Engliſh ſhore; and now the wind veered a point only in his favour, and continued to blow with ſuch violence, that the ſhip ran above eight knots or miles an hour, during this whole day and tempeſtuous night, till bed-time. I was obliged to betake myſelf once more to my ſolitude; for my women were all again down in their ſea-ſickneſs, and the

Digitized by Google

the Captain was busy on deck; for he began to grow uneasy, chiefly, I believe, because he did not well know where he was, and would, I am convinced, have been very glad to have been in Portland-road, eating some sheep's-head broth.

Having contracted no great degree of good humour, by living a whole day alone, without a single soul to converse with, I took but ill physic to purge it off, by a bed-conversation with the Captain; who, amongst many bitter lamentations of his fate, and protesting he had more patience than a Job, frequently intermixed summons to the commanding officer on the deck, who now happened to be one Morrison, a carpenter, the only fellow that had either common sense or common civility in the ship. Of Morrison he inquired every quarter of an hour concerning the state of affairs; the wind, the care of the ship, and other matters of navigation. The frequency of these summons, as well as the solicitude with which they were made, sufficiently testified the state of the Captain's mind; he endeavoured to conceal it, and would have given no small alarm to a man, who had either not learnt what it is to die, or known what it is to be miserable. And my dear wife and child must pardon me, if what I did not conceive to be any great evil to myself, I was not much terrified with the thoughts of happening to them; in truth, I have often thought they are both too good, and too gentle, to be trusted to the power of any man I know, to whom they could possibly be so trusted.

Can I say then I had no fear? indeed, I cannot. Reader, I was afraid for thee, lest thou shouldst have been deprived of that pleasure thou art now enjoying; and that I should not live to draw out on paper, that military character which thou didst peruse in the journal of yesterday.

From all these fears we were relieved, at six in the morning, by the arrival of Mr Morrison, who acquainted us that he was sure he beheld land very near; for he could not see half a mile, by reason of the haziness of the weather. This land, he said, was, he believed, the Berry-head, which forms one side of Torbay;

Digitized by Google

Torbay; the Captain declared that was impoſſible, and ſwore, on condition he was right, he would give him his mother for a maid. A forfeit which became afterwards ſtrictly due, and payable; for the Captain, whipping on his night-gown, ran up without his breeches, and within half an hour returning into the cabbin, wiſhed me joy of our lying ſafe at anchor in the bay.

Sunday, July 26. Things now began to put on an aſpect very different from that they had lately worn; the news that the ſhip had almoſt loſt its mizen, and that we had procured very fine clouted cream and freſh bread and butter from the ſhore, reſtored health and ſpirits to our women, and we all ſat down to a very chearful breakfaſt.

But however pleaſant our ſtay promiſed to be here, we were all deſirous it ſhould be ſhort: I reſolved immediately to diſpatch my man into the country, to purchaſe a preſent of cyder for my friends of that which is called Southam, as well as to take with me a hogſhead of it to Liſbon; for it is, in my opinion, much more delicious than that which is the growth of Herefordſhire. I purchaſed three hogſheads for five pounds ten ſhillings, all which I ſhould have ſcarce thought worth mentioning, had I not believed it might be of equal ſervice to the honeſt farmer who ſold it me, and who is by the neighbouring gentlemen reputed to deal in the very beſt, and to the reader, who, from ignoraunce of the means of providing better for himſelf, ſwallows at a dearer rate the juice of Middleſex turnip, inſtead of that Vinum Pomonæ, which Mr Giles Leveiance, of Cheeſhurſt, near Dartmouth in Devon, will, at the price of forty ſhillings *per* hogſhead, ſend in double caſks to any part of the world. Had the wind been very ſudden in ſhifting, I had loſt my cyder, by an attempt of a boatman to exact, according to cuſtom. He required five ſhillings for conveying my man a mile and a half to the ſhore, and four more, if he ſtaid to bring him back. This I thought to be ſuch inſufferable impudence, that I ordered him to be immediately chaſed from the ſhip, without any anſwer. Indeed, there

are

Digitized by Google

are few inconveniencies that I would not rather encounter than encourage the insolent demands of these wretches at the expence of my own indignation; of which, I own, they are not the only objects, but rather those who purchase a paultry convenience by encouraging them. But of this I have already spoken very largely. I shall conclude, therefore, with the leave which this fellow took of our ship; saying, he should know it again, and would not put off from the shore to relieve it in any distress whatever.

It would, doubtless, surprise many of my readers to hear, that when we lay at anchor within a mile or two of a town, several days together, and even in the most temperate weather, we should frequently want fresh provisions and herbage, and other emoluments of the shore, as much as if we had been a hundred leagues from land: and this too, while numbers of boats were in our sight, whose owners get their livelihood by rowing people up and down, and could be at any time summoned by a signal to our assistance, and while the Captain had a little boat of his own with men always ready to row it at his command.

This, however, hath been partly accounted for already, by the imposing disposition of the people; who asked so much more than the proper price of their labour. And as to the usefulness of the Captain's boat, it requires to be a little expatiated upon, as it will tend to lay open some of the grievances which demand the utmost regard of our legislature, as they affect the most valuable part of the King's subjects, those by whom the commerce of the nation is carried into execution.

Our Captain then, who was a very good and experienced seamen, having been above thirty years the master of a vessel, part of which he had served, so he phrased it, as commander of a privateer, and had discharged himself with great courage and conduct, and with as great success, discovered the utmost aversion to the sending his boat a-shore, whenever we lay wind-bound in any of our harbours. This aversion did not arise from any fear of wearing out his boat by using it, but was, in truth, the result of experience, that

Digitized by Google

that it was easier to send his men on shore than to recal them. They acknowledged him to be their master while they remained on ship-board, but did not allow his power to extend to the shores, where they had no sooner set their foot, than every man became *sui juris*, and thought himself at full liberty to return when he pleased. Now it is not any delight that these fellows have in the fresh air or verdant fields on the land. Every one of them would prefer his ship and his hammock to all the sweets of Arabia the happy; but unluckily for them, there are in every sea-port in England certain houses, whose chief livelihood depends on providing entertainment for the gentlemen of the jacket. For this purpose, they are always well-furnished with those cordial liquors, which do immediately inspire the heart with gladness, banishing all careful thoughts, and, indeed, all others from the mind, and opening the mouth with songs of chearfulness and thanksgiving, for the many wonderful blessings with which a sea-faring life overflows.

For my own part, however whimsical it may appear, I confess, I have thought the strange story of Circe, in the Odyssey, no other than an ingenious allegory; in which Homer intended to convey to his countrymen the same kind of instruction, which we intend to communicate to our own in this digression. As teaching the art of war to the Greeks, was the plain design of the Iliad; so was teaching them the art of navigation the no less manifest intention of the Odyssey. For the improvement of this, their situation was most excellently adapted; and accordingly we find Thucydides, in the beginning of his history, considers the Greeks as a sett of pirates, or privateers, plundering each other by sea. This being probably the first institution of commerce before the Ars Cauponaria was invented, and merchants, instead of robbing, began to cheat and outwit each other, and by degrees changed the Metabletic, the only kind of traffic allowed by Aristotle in his Politics, into the Chrematistic.

By this allegory, then, I suppose Ulysses to have been the captain of a merchant ship, and Circe some good

Digitized by Google

good alewife, who made his crew drunk with the ſpirituous liquors of thoſe days. With this the transformation into ſwine, as well as all other incidents of the fable, will notably agree; and thus a key will be found out for unlocking the whole myſtery, and forging, at leaſt, ſome meaning to a ſtory which, at preſent, appears very ſtrange and abſurd.

Hence, moreover, will appear the very near reſemblance between the ſea-faring men of all ages and nations; and here perhaps may be eſtabliſhed the truth and juſtice of that obſervation, which will occur oftner than once in this voyage, that all human fleſh is not the ſame fleſh, but that there is one kind of fleſh of landmen, and another of ſeamen.

Philoſophers, divines, and others, who have treated the gratification of human appetites with contempt, have, among other inſtances, inſiſted very ſtrongly on that ſatiety which is ſo apt to overtake them, even in the very act of enjoyment. And here they more particularly deſerve our attention, as moſt of them may be ſuppoſed to ſpeak from their own experience, and very probably gave us their leſſons with a full ſtomach. Thus hunger and thirſt, whatever delight they may afford while we are eating and drinking, paſs both away from us with the plate and the cup; and though we ſhould imitate the Romans, if indeed they were ſuch dull beaſts, which I can ſcarce believe, to unload the belly like a dungpot, in order to fill it again with another load, yet would the pleaſure be ſo conſiderably leſſened, that it would ſcarce repay us the trouble of purchaſing it with ſwallowing a baſon of camomile tea. A ſecond haunch of veniſon, or a ſecond doſe of turtle, would hardly allure a city glutton with its ſmell. Even the celebrated Jew himſelf, when well filled with Calipaſh and Calipee, goes contentedly home to tell his money, and expects no more pleaſure from his throat, during the next twenty-four hours. Hence, I ſuppoſe, Dr South took that elegant compariſon of the joys of a ſpeculative man to the ſolemn ſilence of an Archimedes over a problem, and thoſe of a glutton to the ſtillneſs of a ſow at her waſh; a ſimile, which, if it became the pulpit at all, could only become it in the afternoon.

Digitized by Google

Whereas, in thoſe potations which the mind ſeems to enjoy, rather than the bodily appetite, there is happily no ſuch ſatiety; but the more a man drinks, the more he deſires; as if, like Mark Anthony in Dryden, his appetite encreaſed with feeding, and this to ſuch an immoderate degree, *ut nullus ſit deſiderio aut pudor aut modus*. Hence, as with the gang of Captain Ulyſſes, enſues ſo total a transformation, that the man no more continues what he was. Perhaps he ceaſes for a time to be at all; or, though he may retain the ſame outward form and figure he had before, yet is his nobler part, as we are taught to call it, ſo changed, that, inſtead of being the ſame man, he ſcarce remembers what he was a few hours before. And this transformation being once obtained, is ſo eaſily preſerved by the ſame potations, which induce no ſatiety, that the Captain in vain ſends or goes in queſt of his crew. They know him no longer; or, if they do, they acknowledge not his power, having indeed as entirely forgotten themſelves as if they had taken a large draught of the river of Lethe.

Nor is the Captain always ſure of even finding out the place to which Circe had conveyed them. There are many of thoſe houſes in every port-town. Nay, there are ſome where the ſorcereſs doth not truſt only to her drugs; but hath inſtruments of a different kind to execute her purpoſes, by whoſe means the tar is effectually ſecreted from the knowledge and purſuit of his captain. This would, indeed, be very fatal, was it not for one circumſtance; that the ſailor is ſeldom provided with the proper bait for theſe harpies. However, the contrary ſometimes happens, as theſe harpies will bite at almoſt any thing, and will ſnap at a pair of ſilver buttons or buckles, as ſurely as at the ſpecie itſelf. Nay, ſometimes they are ſo voracious, that the very naked hook will go down, and the jolly young ſailor is ſacrificed for his own ſake.

In vain, at ſuch a ſeaſon as this, would the vows of a pious heathen have prevailed over Neptune, Eolus, or any other marine deity. In vain would the prayers of a Chriſtian captain be attended with the like ſucceſs. The wind may change how it pleaſes, while all

Digitized by Google

all hands are on shore; the anchor would remain firm in the ground, and the ship would continue in durance, unless, like other forcible prison-breakers, it forcibly got loose for no good purpose.

Now, as the favour of winds and courts, and such like, is always to be laid hold on at the very first motion, for within twenty-four hours all may be changed again; so, in the former case, the loss of a day may be the loss of a voyage: for, though it may appear to persons not well skilled in navigation, who see ships meet and sail by each other, that the wind blows sometimes east and west, north and south, backwards, and forwards, at the same instant; yet, certain it is, that the land is so contrived, that even the same wind will not, like the same horse, always bring a man to the end of his journey; but, that the gale which the mariner prayed heartily for yesterday, he may as heartily deprecate to-morrow; while all use and benefit, which would have arisen to him from the westerly wind of to-morrow, may be totally lost and thrown away, by neglecting the offer of the easterly blast which blows to-day.

Hence ensues grief and disreputation to the innocent Captain, loss and disappointment to the worthy merchant, and not seldom great prejudice to the trade of a nation, whose manufactures are thus liable to lie unsold in a foreign warehouse, the market being forestalled by some rival, whose sailors are under a better discipline. To guard against these inconveniencies the prudent captain takes every precaution in his power: he makes the strongest contracts with his crew, and thereby binds them so firmly, that none but the greatest or least of men can break through them with impunity: but for one of these two reasons, which I will not determine, the sailor, like his brother fish the eel, is too slippery to be held, and plunges into his element with perfect impunity.

To speak a plain truth, there is no trusting to any contract with one whom the wise citizens of London call a bad man; for, with such a one, though your bond be ever so strong, it will prove in the end good for nothing.

Digitized by Google

What then is to be done in this case? What, indeed? but to call in the assistance of that tremendous magistrate, the justice of peace, who can, and often doth, lay good and bad men in equal durance; and, though he seldom cares to stretch his bonds to what is great, never finds any thing too minute for their detention, but will hold the smallest reptile alive so fast in his noose, that he can never get out till he is let drop through it.

Why, therefore, upon the breach of those contracts, should not an immediate application be made to the neareſt magistrate of this order who should be empowered to convey the delinquent, either to ship or to prison, at the election of the Captain, to be fettered by the leg in either place?

But, as the case now stands, the condition of this poor captain without any commission, and of this absolute commander without any power, is much worse than we have hitherto shewn it to be; for, notwithstanding all the aforesaid contracts to sail in the good ship the Elizabeth, if the sailor should, for better wages, find it more his interest to go on board the better ship the Mary, either before their setting out, or on their speedy meeting in some port, he may prefer the latter without any other danger, than that of 'doing what he ought not to have done.' contrary to a rule which he is seldom Christian enough to have much at heart, while the Captain is generally too good a Christian to punish a man out of revenge only, when he is to be at a considerable expence for so doing. There are many other deficiencies in our laws relating to maritime affairs, and which would probably have been long since corrected, had we any seamen in the House of Commons. Not that I would insinuate that the legislature wants a supply of many gentlemen in the sea-service · but, as these gentlemen are, by their attendance in the house, unfortunately prevented from ever going to sea, and their learning what they might communicate to their landed brethren, these latter remain as ignorant in that branch of knowledge, as they would be if none but courtiers and fox-hunters had been elected into par-

Digitized by Google

parliament, without a single fish among them. The following seems to me to be an effect of this kind, and it strikes me the stronger, as I remember the case to have happened, and remember it to have been dispunishable. A Captain of a trading vessel, of which he was part owner, took in a large freight of oats at Liverpool, consigned to the market at Bearkey; this he carried to a port in Hampshire, and there sold it as his own, and freighting his vessel with wheat for the port of Cadiz in Spain, dropt it at Oporto in his way, and their selling it for his own use, took in a lading of wine, with which he sailed again, and having converted it in the same manner, together with a large sum of money with which he was intrusted, for the benefit of certain merchants, sold the ship and cargo in another port, and then wisely sat down contented with the fortune he had made, and returned to London to enjoy the remainder of his days, with the fruits of his former labours and a good conscience.

The sum he brought home with him, consisted of near six thousand pounds, all in specie, and most of it in that coin which Portugal distributes so liberally over Europe.

He was not yet old enough to be past all sense of pleasure, nor so puffed up with the pride of his good fortune, as to overlook his old acquaintances the journeymen tailors, from among whom he had been formerly pressed into the sea-service; and having there laid the foundation of his future success, by his shares in prizes, had afterwards become Captain of a trading vessel, in which he purchased an interest, and had soon begun to trade in the honourable manner above-mentioned.

The captain now took up his residence at an alehouse in Drury-lane, where, having all his money by him in a trunk, he spent above five pounds a day among his old friends the gentlemen and ladies of those parts.

The merchant of Liverpool, having luckily had notice from a friend, during the blaze of his fortune, did, by the assistance of a justice of peace, without the assistance of the law, recover his whole loss. The Captain, however, wisely chose to refund no more; but perceiving with what hasty strides envy was pursuing his for-

Digitized by Google

tune, took speedy means to retire out of her reach, and to enjoy the rest of his wealth in an inglorious obscurity: nor could the same justice overtake him time enough to assist a second merchant, as he had done the first.

This was a very extraordinary case, and the more so, as the ingenious gentleman had steered entirely clear of all crimes in our law.

Now, how it comes about, that a robbery so very easy to be committed, and to which there is such immediate temptation always before the eyes of these fellows, should receive the encouragement of impunity, is to be accounted for only from the oversight of the legislature, as that oversight can only be, I think, derived from the reasons I have assigned for it.

But I will dwell no longer on this subject. If what I have here said should seem of sufficient consequence to engage the attention of any man in power, and should thus be the means of applying any remedy to the most inveterate evils at least, I have obtained my whole desire, and shall have lain so long wind-bound in the ports of this kingdom to some purpose. I would indeed have this work, which, if I should live to finish it, a matter of no great certainty, if indeed of any great hope to me, will be probably the last I shall ever undertake, to produce some better end than the mere diversion of the reader.

Monday. This day our Captain went ashore, to dine with a gentleman who lives in these parts, and who so exactly resembles the character given by Homer of Axylus, that the only difference I can trace between them is, the one living by the highway, erected his hospitality chiefly in favour of land travellers; and the other living by the waterside, gratified his humanity by accomodating the wants of the mariner.

In the evening our commander received a visit from a brother bashaw, who lay wind-bound in the same harbour. This latter Captain was a Swiss. He was then master of a vessel bound to Guinea, and had formerly been a privateering, when our own hero was employed in the same laudable service. The honesty and freedom of the Switzer, his vivacity, in which he was in

no

Digitized by Google

no reſpect inferior to his near neighbours the French, the aukward and affected politeneſs, which was likewiſe of French extraction, mixed with the brutal roughneſs of the Engliſh tar, (for he had ſerved under the colours of this nation, and his crew had been of the ſame) made ſuch an odd variety, ſuch a hotch-potch of character, that I ſhould have been much diverted with him, had not his voice, which was as loud as a ſpeaking trumpet, unfortunately made my head ache. The noiſe which he conveyed into the deaf ears of his brother-captain, who ſat on one ſide of him, the ſoft addreſſes, with which, mixed with aukward bows, he ſaluted the ladies on the other, were ſo agreeably contraſted, that a man muſt not only have been void of all taſte of humour, and inſenſible of mirth, but duller than Cibber is repreſented in the Dunciad, who could be unentertained with him a little while: for, I confeſs, ſuch entertainments ſhould always be very ſhort, as they are very liable to pall. But he ſuffered not this to happen at preſent. For having given us his company a quarter of an hour only, he retired, after many apologies for the ſhortneſs of his viſit.

Tueſday. The wind being leſs boiſterous than it had hitherto been ſince our arrival here, ſeveral fiſhing-boats, which the tempeſtuous weather yeſterday had prevented from working, came on board us with fiſh. This was ſo freſh, ſo good in kind, and ſo very cheap, that we ſupplied ourſelves in great numbers, among which were very large ſoals at four-pence a pair, and whitings, of almoſt a prepoſterous ſize, at nine-pence a ſcore.

The only fiſh which bore any price was a johndorce, as it is called. I bought one of at leaſt four pounds weight for as many ſhillings. It reſembles a turbot in ſhape, but exceeds it in firmneſs and flavour. The price had the appearance of being conſiderable, when oppoſed to the extraordinary cheapneſs of others of value; but was, in truth ſo very reaſonable, when eſtimated by its goodneſs, that it left me under no other ſurpriſe, than how the gentlemen of this country, not greatly eminent for the delicacy

Digitized by Google

licacy of their taſte, had diſcovered the preference of the doree to all other fiſh: but I was informed that Mr. Quin, whoſe diſtinguiſhing tooth hath been ſo juſtly celebrated, had lately viſited Plymouth, and had done thoſe honours to the doree, which are ſo juſtly due to it from that ſect of modern philoſophers, who, with Sir Epicure Mammon, or Sir Epicure Quin, their head, ſeem more to delight in a fiſh-pond than in a garden, as the old Epicureans are ſaid to have done.

Unfortunately for the fiſhmongers of London, the doree reſides only in thoſe ſeas; for could any of this company but convey one to the temple of luxury under the Piazza, where Macklin the high-prieſt daily ſerves up his rich offerings to that goddeſs; great would be the reward of that fiſhmonger, in bleſſings poured down upon him from the goddeſs; as great would his merits be towards the high-prieſt, who could never be thought to over-rate ſuch valuable incenſe.

And here having mentioned the extreme cheapneſs of fiſh in the Devonſhire ſea, and given ſome little hint of the extreme dearneſs with which this commodity is diſpenſed by thoſe who deal in it in London, I cannot paſs on without throwing forth an obſervation or two, with the ſame view with which I have ſcattered my ſeveral remarks through this voyage, ſufficiently ſatisfied in having finiſhed my life, as I have, probably, loſt it, in the ſervice of my country, from the beſt of motives, though it ſhould be attended with the worſt of ſucceſs. Means are always in our power; ends are very ſeldom ſo.

Of all the animal foods with which man is furniſhed, there are are none ſo plenty as fiſh. A little rivulet, that glides almoſt unperceived through a vaſt tract of rich land, will ſupport more hundreds with the fleſh of its inhabitants, than the meadow will nouriſh individuals. But if this be true of rivers, it is much truer of the ſea-ſhores, which abound with ſuch immenſe variety of fiſh, that the curious fiſherman, after he hath made his draught, often culls only the daintieſt part, and leaves the reſt of his prey to periſh on the ſhore.

If

Digitized by Google

If this be true, it would appear, I think, that there is nothing which might be had in ſuch abundance, and conſequently ſo cheap, as fiſh, of which Nature ſeems to have provided ſuch inexhauſtible ſtores with ſome peculiar deſign. In the production of terreſtrial animals, ſhe proceeds with ſuch ſlowneſs, that in the larger kind a ſingle female ſeldom produces more than one a-year, and this again requires three, four, or five years more to bring it to perfection. And though the leſſer quadrupeds, thoſe of the wild kind particularly, with the birds, do multiply much faſter, yet can none of theſe bear any proportion with the aquatic animals, of whom every female matrix is furniſhed with an annual offspring, almoſt exceeding the power of numbers, and which, in many inſtances, at leaſt, a ſingle year is capable of bringing to ſome degree of maturity.

What then in general ought to be ſo plentiful, what ſo cheap as fiſh? What then ſo properly the food of the poor? So in many places they are, and ſo might they always be in great cities, which are always ſituated near the ſea, or on the conflux of large rivers. How comes it then, to look no farther abroad for inſtances, that in our city of London the caſe is ſo far otherwiſe, that, except that of ſprats, there is not one poor palate in an hundred that knows the taſte of fiſh?

It is true, indeed, that this taſte is generally of ſuch excellent flavour, that it exceeds the power of French cookery to treat the palates of the rich with any thing more exquiſitely delicate; ſo that was fiſh the common food of the poor, it might put them too much upon an equality with their betters, in the great article of eating, in which, at preſent, in the opinion of ſome, the great difference in happineſs between man and man conſiſts. But this argument I ſhall treat with the utmoſt diſdain: for if ortolans were as big as buſtards, and at the ſame time as plenty as ſparrows, I ſhould hold it yet reaſonable to indulge the poor with the dainty, and that for this cauſe eſpecially, that the rich would ſoon find a ſparrow, if as

ſcarce

Digitized by Google

ſcarce as an ortolan, to be much the greater, as it would certainly be the rarer, dainty of the two.

Vanity or ſcarcity will be always the favourite of luxury, but honeſt hunger will be ſatisfied with plenty. Not to ſearch deeper into the cauſe of the evil, I ſhall think it abundantly ſufficient to propoſe the remedies of it. And, firſt, I humbly ſubmit the abſolute neceſſity of immediately hanging all the fiſhmongers within the bills of mortality; and however it might have been ſome time ago the opinion of mild and temporiſing men, that the evil complained of might be removed by gentler methods, I ſuppoſe at this day there are none who do not ſee the impoſſibility of uſing ſuch with any effect. *Cuncta prius tentanda* might have been formerly urged with ſome plauſibility; but *cuncta prius tentata* may now be replied: for ſurely, if a few monopolizing fiſhmongers could defeat that excellent ſcheme of the Weſtminſter market, to the erecting which ſo many juſtices of peace, as well as other wiſe and learned men, did ſo vehemently apply themſelves, that they might be truly ſaid not only to have laid the whole ſtrength of their heads, but of their ſhoulders too, to the buſineſs, it would be a vain endeavour for any other body of men to attempt to remove ſo ſtubborn a nuiſance.

If it ſhould be doubted, whether we can bring this caſe within the letter of any capital law now ſubſiſting? I am aſhamed to own it cannot; for ſurely no crime better deſerves ſuch puniſhment; but the remedy may, nevertheleſs, be immediate; and if a law was made the beginning of next ſeſſions, to take place immediately, by which the ſtarving thouſands of poor was declared to be felony, without benefit of clergy, the fiſhmongers would be hanged before the end of the ſeſſions.

A ſecond method of filling the mouths of the poor, if not with loaves, at leaſt with fiſhes, is to deſire the magiſtrates to carry into execution one, at leaſt, out of near a hundred acts of parliament, for preſerving the ſmall fry of the river of Thames, by which means as few fiſh would ſatisfy thouſands, as may now be devoured by a ſmall number of individuals. But while

Digitized by Google

while a fiſherman can break through the ſtrongeſt meſhes of an act of parliament, we may be aſſured he will learn ſo to contrive his own meſhes, that the ſmalleſt fry will not be able to ſwim through them.

Other methods may, we doubt not, be ſuggeſted by thoſe who ſhall attentively conſider the evil here hinted at; but we have dwelt too long on it already, and ſhall conclude with obſerving, that it is difficult to affirm, whether the atrocity of the evil itſelf, the facility of curing it, or the ſhameful neglect of the cure, be the more ſcandalous, or more aſtoniſhing.

After having, however, glorioufly regaled myſelf with this food, I was waſhing it down with ſome good claret, with my wife and her friendi n the cabbin, when the Captain's valet de chambre, head cook, houſe and ſhip ſteward, footman in livery and out on't, ſecretary and fore-maſt-man, all burſt into the cabbin at once, being, indeed, all but one perſon, and without ſaying, 'by your leave,' began to pack half a hogſhead of ſmall beer in bottles, the neceſſary conſequence of which muſt have been, either a total ſtop to converſation at that chearful ſeaſon when it is moſt agreeable, or the admitting that polyonymous officer aforeſaid to the participation of it. I deſired him, therefore, to delay his purpoſe a little longer, but he refuſed to grant my requeſt; nor was he prevailed on to quit the room till he was threatened with having one bottle to pack more than his number, which then happened to ſtand empty within my reach.

With theſe menaces he retired at laſt, but not without muttering ſome menaces on his ſide, and which, to our great terror, he failed not to put into immediate execution.

Our Captain was gone to dinner this day with his Swiſs brother; and, though he was a very ſober man, was a little elevated with ſome champaign, which, as it coſt the Swiſs little or nothing, he diſpenſed at hi- table more liberally than our hoſpitable Engliſh noblemen put about thoſe bottles, which the ingenious Peter Taylor teaches a led captain to avoid by diſtinguiſhing

Digitized by Google

distinguishing by the name of that generous liquor, which all humble companions are taught to postpone to the flavour of methuen, or honest port.

While our two captains were thus regaling themselves, and celebrating their own heroic exploits, with all the inspiration which the liquor, at least, of wit could afford them, the polyonymous officer arrived, and being saluted by the name of honest Tom, was ordered to sit down and take his glass before he delivered his message; for every sailor is by turns his captain's mate over a cann, except only that captain bashaw who presides in a man of war, and who, upon earth, has no other mate, unless it be another of the same bashaws.

Tom had no sooner swallowed his draught, than he hastily began his narrative, and faithfully related what had happened on board our ship; we say faithfully, though from what happened it may be suspected that Tom chose to add, perhaps, only five or six immaterial circumstances, as is always, I believe, the case, and may possibly have been done by me in relating this very story, though it happened not many hours ago.

No sooner was the Captain informed of the interruption which had been given to his officer, and indeed to his orders, for he thought no time so convenient as that of his absence for causing any confusion in the cabin, than he leapt with such haste from his chair, that he had like to have broke his sword, with which he always begirt himself when he walked out of his ship, and sometimes when he walked about in it, at the same time grasping eagerly that other implement called a cockade, which modern soldiers wear on their helmets, with the same view as the antients did their crests, to terrify the enemy; he muttered something, but so inarticulately, that the word *damn* was only intelligible; he then hastily took leave of the Swiss captain, who was too well-bred to press his stay on such an occasion, and leapt first from the ship to his boat, and then from his boat to his own ship, with as much fierceness in his looks as he had ever

Digitized by Google

ever expreſſed on boarding his defenceleſs prey, in the honourable calling of a privateer.

Having regained the middle-deck, he paufed a moment, while Tom and others loaded themſelves with bottles, and then deſcending into the cabbin exclaimed with a thundering voice, 'D---n me, why aren't the 'bottles ſtowed in, according to my orders?'

I anſwered him very mildly, that I had prevented his man from doing it, as it was at an inconvenient time to me; and as in his abſence, at leaſt, I eſteemed the cabbin to be my own. 'Your cabbin!' repeated he many times, 'no, d---n me, 'tis my cabbin. Your 'cabbin? d---n me! I have brought my hogs to a 'fair market. I ſuppoſe, indeed, you, you think it 'your cabbin, and your ſhip, by your commanding in 'it; but I will command in it, d---n me! I will 'ſhew the world I am the commander, and no body 'but I! Did you think I ſold you the command of 'my ſhip for that pitiful thirty pounds? I wiſh I 'had not ſeen you nor your thirty pounds aboard of 'her.' He then repeated the words *thirty pounds* often, with great diſdain, and with a contempt which, I own, the ſum did not ſeem to deſerve in my eye, either in itſelf, or on the preſent occaſion; being, indeed, paid for the freight of---------weight of human fleſh, which is above fifty per cent, dearer than the freight of any other luggage, whilſt, in reality, it takes up leſs room, in fact, no room at all.

In truth, the ſum was paid for nothing more, than for a liberty to ſix perſons (two of them ſervants) to ſtay on board a-ſhip while ſhe ſails from one part to another, every ſhilling of which comes clear into the Captain's pocket. Ignorant people may perhaps imagine, eſpecially when they are told that the Captain is obliged to ſuſtain them, that their diet, at leaſt, is worth ſomething; which may probably be now and then ſo far the caſe, as to deduct a tenth part from the neat profits on this account: but it was otherwiſe at preſent; for when I had contracted with the Captain at a price which I by no means thought moderate, I had ſome content in thinking I ſhould have no more to pay for my voyage; but I was whiſpered that it was expected the paſſengers ſhould find themſelves in

Digitized by Google

several things; such as tea, wine, and such-like; and particularly, that gentlemen should stowe of the latter a much larger quantity than they could use, in order to leave the remainder as a present to the Captain, at the end of the voyage; and it was expected likewise, that gentlemen should put aboard some fresh stores; and the more of such things were put aboard, the welcomer they would be to the Captain.

I was prevailed with, by these hints, to follow the advice proposed; and accordingly, besides tea, and a large hamper of wine, with several hams and tongues, I caused a number of live chicken and sheep to be conveyed aboard; in truth, treble the quantity of provision which would have supported the persons I took with me, had the voyage continued three weeks, as it was supposed, with a bare possibility, it might.

Indeed, it continued much longer; but, as this was occasioned by our being wind-bound in our own ports, it was by no means of any ill consequence to the Captain, as the additional stores of fish, fresh meat, butter, bread, *&c.* which I constantly laid in, greatly exceeded the consumption, and went some way in maintaining the ship's crew. It is true, I was not obliged to do this; but it seemed to be expected; for the Captain did not think himself obliged to do it; and, I can truly say, I soon ceased to expect it of him. He had, I confess, on board, a number of fowls and ducks sufficient for a West-India voyage: all of them, as he often said. 'Very fine birds, and 'of the largest breed.' This, I believe, was really the fact; and I can add, that they were all arrived at the full perfection of their size. Nor was there, I am convinced, any want of provisions of a more substantial kind; such as dried beef, pork, and fish; so that the Captain seemed ready to perform his contract, and amply provide for his passengers. What I did then, was not from necessity, but, perhaps, from a less excusable motive, and was, by no means, chargeable to the account of the Captain.

But let the motive have been what it would, the consequence was still the same; and this was such, that I am firmly persuaded the whole pitiful thirty pound

Digitized by Google

pound came pure and neat into the Captain's pocket, and not only so, but attended with the value of ten pounds more in sundries, into the bargain. I must confess myself therefore at a loss how the epithet *pitiful* came to be annexed to the above sum: for not being a pitiful price for what it was given, I cannot conceive it to be pitiful in itself; nor do I believe it is so thought by the greatest men in the kingdom; none of whom would scruple to search for it in the dirtiest kennel, where they had only a reasonable hope of success.

How, therefore, such a sum should acquire the idea of *pitiful*, in the eyes of the master of a ship, seems not easy to be accounted for; since it appears more likely to produce in him ideas of a different kind. Some men, perhaps, are no more sincere in the contempt for it which they express, than others in their contempt of money in general; and I am the rather inclined to this persuasion, as I have seldom heard of either, who have refused or refunded this their despised object. Besides, it is sometimes impossible to believe these professions, as every action of the man's life is a contradiction to it. Who can believe a tradesman, who says he would not tell his name for the profit he gets by the selling such a parcel of goods, when he hath told a thousand lies in order to get it?

Pitiful, indeed, is often applied to an object, not absolutely, but comparatively with our expectations, or with a greater object: in which sense, it is not easy to set any bounds to the use of the word. Thus, a handful of halfpence daily appear pitiful to a porter, and a handful of silver to a drawer. The latter, I am convinced, at a polite tavern, will not tell his name (for he will not give you any answer) under the price of gold. And, in this sense, thirty pounds may be accounted pitiful by the lowest mechanic.

One difficulty only seems to occur, and that is this: How comes it that, if the profits of the meanest arts are so considerable, the professors of them are not richer than we generally see them? One answer to this shall suffice. Men do not become rich by what they get, but by what they keep. He who is worth

Digitized by Google

no more than his annual wages or salary, spends the whole; he will be always a beggar, let his income be what it will; and so will be his family when he dies. This we see daily to be the case of ecclesiastics, who, during their lives, are extremely well provided for, only because they desire to maintain the honour of the cloth by living like gentlemen, which would, perhaps, be better maintained by living unlike them.

But, to return from so long a digression, to which the use of so improper an epithet gave occasion, and to which the novelty of the subject allured, I will make the reader amends by concisely telling him, that the Captain poured forth such a torrent of abuse, that I very hastily, and very foolishly, resolved to quit the ship. I gave immediate orders to summons a hoy to carry me that evening to Dartmouth, without considering any consequence. Those orders I gave in no very low voice; so that those above stairs might possibly conceive there was more than one master in the cabbin. In the same tone I likewise threatened the Captain with that which, he afterwards said, he feared more than any rock or quick-sand. Nor can we wonder at this, when we are told he had been twice obliged to bring to, and cast anchor there before, and had neither time escaped without the loss of almost his whole cargo.

The most distant sound of law thus frightened a man, who had often, I am convinced, heard numbers of cannon roar round him with intrepidity. Nor did he sooner see the hoy approaching the vessel, than he did run down again into the cabbin; and, his anger being perfectly subsided, he tumbled on his knees, and a little too abjectly implored for mercy.

I did not suffer a brave man, and an old man, to remain a moment in this posture; but I immediately forgave him.

And here, that I may not be thought the sly trumpeter of my own praises, I do utterly disclaim all praise on the occasion. Neither did the greatness of my mind dictate, nor the force of my Christianity exact this forgiveness. To speak truth, I forgave him from a motive which would make men much more

Digitized by Google

more forgiving, if they were much wiser than they are; because it was convenient for me so to do.

Wednesday. This morning the Captain dreſt himſelf in ſcarlet, in order to pay a viſit to a Devonſhire ſquire, to whom a captain of a ſhip is a gueſt of no ordinary conſequence, as he is a ſtranger and a gentleman, who hath ſeen a great deal of the world in foreign parts, and knows all the news of the times.

The ſquire, therefore, was to ſend his boat for the Captain; but a moſt unfortunate accident happened: for, as the wind was extremely rough, and againſt the hoy, while this was endeavouring to avail itſelf of great ſeamanſhip, in hawling up againſt the wind, a ſudden ſquall carried off ſail and yard; or, at leaſt, ſo diſabled them, that they were no longer of any uſe, and unable to reach the ſhip; but the Captain, from the deck, ſaw his hopes of veniſon diſappointed, and was forced either to ſtay on board his ſhip, or to hoiſt forth his own long-boat, which he could not prevail with himſelf to think of, though the ſmell of the veniſon had had twenty times its attraction. He did, indeed, love his ſhip as his wife, and his boats as children, and never willingly truſted the latter, poor things! to the danger of the ſeas.

To ſay truth, notwithſtanding the ſtrict rigour with which he preſerved the dignity of his ſtation, and the haſty impatience with which he reſented any affront to his perſon or orders, diſobedience to which he could in no inſtance brook in any perſon on board, he was one of the beſt-natured fellows alive. He acted the part of a father to his ſailors; he expreſſed great tenderneſs for any of them when ill, and never ſuffered any, the leaſt work of ſupererogation, to go unrewarded by a glaſs of gin. He even extended his humanity, if I may ſo call it, to animals, and even his cats and kittens had large ſhares in his affections. An inſtance of which we ſaw this evening, when the cat, which had ſhewn it could not be drowned, was found ſuffocated under a feather-bed in the cabbin. I will not endeavour to deſcribe his lamentations with more prolixity than barely by ſaying, they were

Digitized by Google

grievous, and seemed to have some mixture of the Irish howl in them. Nay, he carried his fondness even to inanimate objects, of which we have above set down a pregnant example in his demonstration of love and tenderness towards his boat and ship. He spoke of a ship which he had commanded formerly, and which was long since no more, which he had called the Princess of Brasil, as a widower of a deceased wife. This ship, after having followed the honest business of carrying goods and passengers for hire many years, did at last take to evil courses, and turn privateer, in which service, to use his own words, she received many dreadful wounds, which he himself had felt, as if they had been his own.

Thursday. As the wind did not yesterday discover any purpose of shifting, and the water in my belly grew troublesome, and rendered me short-breathed: I began a second time to have apprehensions of wanting the assistance of a trochar, when none was to be found: I therefore concluded to be tapped again, by way of precaution; and accordingly I this morning summoned on board a surgeon from a neighbouring parish, one whom the Captain greatly recommended, and who did indeed perform his office with much dexterity. He was, I believe, likewise a man of great judgment and knowledge in the profession; but of this I cannot speak with perfect certainty; for when he was going to open on the dropsy at large, and on the particular degree of the distemper under which I laboured, I was obliged to stop him short (for the wind was changed, and the Captain in the utmost hurry to depart) and to desire him, instead of his opinion, to assist me with his execution.

I was now once more delivered from my burden, which was not indeed so great as I had apprehended, wanting two quarts of what was let out at the last operation.

While the surgeon was drawing away my water, the sailors were drawing up the anchor: both were finished at the same time; we unfurled our sails, and soon passed the Berry-head, which forms the mouth of the bay.

We

Digitized by Google

We had not, however, sailed far, when the wind, which had, though with a slow pace, kept us company about six miles, suddenly turned about, and offered to conduct us back again: a favour, which, though sorely against the grain, we were obliged to accept.

Nothing remarkable happened this day; for as to the firm persuasion of the Captain that he was under the spell of witchcraft, I would not repeat it too often, though indeed he repeated it an hundred times every day; in truth, he talked of nothing else, and seemed not only to be satisfied in general of his being bewitched, but actually to have fixed, with good certainty, on the person of the witch, whom, had he lived in the days of Sir Matthew Hale, he would have infallibly indicted, and very possibly have hanged for the detestable sin of witchcraft: but that law, and the whole doctrine that supported it, are now out of fashion; and witches, as a learned divine once chose to express himself, are put down by act of parliament. This witch, in the Captain's opinion, was no other than Mrs Francis of Ryde, who, as he insinuated, out of anger to me, for not spending more money in her house than she could produce any thing to exchange for, or any pretence to charge for, had laid this spell on his ship.

Though we were again got near our harbour by three in the afternoon, yet it seemed to require a full hour or more, before we could come to our former place of anchoring, or birth, as the Captain called it. On this occasion we exemplified one of the few advantages, which the travellers by water have over the travellers by land. What would the latter often give for the sight of one of those hospitable mansions, where he is assured *that there is good entertainment for man and horse;* and where both may consequently promise themselves to assuage that hunger which exercise is so sure to raise in a healthy constitution?

At their arrival at this mansion, how much happier is the state of the horse than that of the master! The former is immediately led to his repast, such as it is; and, whatever it is, he falls to it with appetite.

But

Digitized by Google

But the latter is in a much worse situation. His hunger, however violent, is always in some degree delicate, and his food must have some kind of ornament, or, as the more usual phrase is, of dressing, to recommend it. Now all dressing requires time; and therefore, though, perhaps, the sheep might be just killed before you came to the inn, yet in cutting him up, fetching the joint, which the landlord by mistake said he had in the house, from the butcher at two miles distance, and afterwards warming it a little by the fire, two hours at least must be consumed, while hunger, for want of better food, preys all the time on the vitals of the man.

How different was the case with us! we carried our provision, our kitchen, and our cook with us, and we were at one and the same time travelling on our road, and sitting down to a repast of fish, with which the greatest table in London can scarce at any rate be supplied.

Friday. As we were disappointed of our wind, and obliged to return back the preceding evening, we resolved to extract all the good we could out of our misfortune, and to add considerably to our fresh stores of meat and bread, with which we were very indifferently provided when we hurried away yesterday By the Captain's advice, we likewise laid in some stores of butter, which we salted and potted ourselves, for our use at Lisbon; and we had great reason afterwards to thank him for his advice.

In the afternoon, I persuaded my wife, whom it was no easy matter for me to force from my side, to take a walk on shore, whither the gallant Captain declared he was ready to attend her. Accordingly, the ladies set out, and left me to enjoy a sweet and comfortable nap after the operation of the preceding day.

Thus we enjoyed our separate pleasures full three hours, when we met again; and my wife gave the foregoing account of the gentleman, whom I have before compared to Axylus, and of his habitation, to both which she had been introduced by the Captain, in the style of an old friend and acquaintance, though this foundation of intimacy seemed to her to be no deeper

Digitized by Google

deeper laid than an accidental dinner, eaten many years before, at this temple of hospitality, when the Captain lay wind-bound in the same bay.

Saturday. Early this morning, the wind seemed inclined to change in our favour. Our alert captain snatched its very first motion, and got under sail with so very gentle a breeze, that as the tide was against him, he recommended to a fishing hoy to bring after him a vast salmon, and some other provisions which lay ready for him on shore.

Our anchor was up at six, and before nine in the morning we had doubled the Berry-head, and were arrived off Dartmouth, having gone full three miles in as many hours, in direct opposition to the tide, which only befriended us out of our harbour; and though the wind was, perhaps, our friend, it was so very silent, and exerted itself so little in our favour, that, like some cool partisans, it was difficult to say whether it was with us or against us. The Captain, however, declared the former to be the case, during the whole three hours; but at last he perceived his error; or rather, perhaps; this friend, which had hitherto wavered in chusing his side, became now more determined. The Captain then suddenly tacked about, and asserting that he was bewitched, submitted to return to the place from whence he came. Now, though I am as free from superstition as any man breathing, and never did believe in witches, notwithstanding all the excellent arguments of my Lord Chief Justice Hale in their favour, and long before they were put down by act of parliament, yet by what power a ship of burden should sail three miles against both wind and tide, I cannot conceive; unless there was some supernatural interposition in the case: nay, could we admit that the wind stood neuter, the difficulty would still remain. So that we must of necessity conclude, that the ship was either bewinded or bewitched.

The Captain, perhaps, had another meaning. He imagined himself, I believe, bewitched, because the wind, instead of persevering in its change in his favour, for change it certainly did that morning, should sud-

Digitized by Google

ſuddenly return to its favourite ſtation, and blow him back towards the Bay. But if this was his opinion, he ſoon ſaw cauſe to alter; for he had not meaſured half the way back, when the wind again declared in his favour, and ſo loudly, that there was no poſſibility of being miſtaken.

The orders for the ſecond tack were given, and obeyed, with much more alacrity than thoſe had been for the firſt. We were all of us indeed in high ſpirits on the occaſion; though ſome of us a little regreted the good things we were likely to leave behind us by the fiſherman's neglect: I might give it a worſe name, for he faithfully promiſed to execute a commiſſion, which he had had abundant opportunity to do; but *nautica fides* deſerves as much to be proverbial, as ever *Punica fides* could formerly have done. Nay, when we conſider that the Carthaginians came from the Phenicians, who are ſuppoſed to have produced the firſt mariners, we may probably ſee the true reaſon of the adage; and it may open a field of very curious diſcoveries to the antiquarian.

We were, however, too eager to purſue our voyage, to ſuffer any thing we left behind us to interrupt our happineſs, which, indeed, many agreeable circumſtances conſpired to advance. The weather was inexpreſſibly pleaſant, and we were all ſeated on the deck, when our canvas began to ſwell with the wind. We had likewiſe in our view above thirty other ſail around us, all in the ſame ſituation. Here an obſervation occurred to me, which, perhaps, though extremely obvious, did not offer itſelf to every individual in our little fleet: when I perceived with what different ſucceſs we proceeded, under the influence of a ſuperior power, which, while we lay almoſt idle ourſelves, puſhed us forward on our intended voyage, and compared this with the ſlow progreſs which we had made in the morning, of ourſelves, and without any ſuch aſſiſtance, I could not help reflecting how often the greateſt abilities ly wind-bound, as it were, in life; or if they venture out, and attempt to beat the ſeas, they ſtruggle in vain againſt wind and tide, and if they have not ſufficient prudence to put back,

are

Digitized by Google

are moſt probably caſt away on the rocks and quick-ſands, which are every day ready to devour him.

It was now our fortune to ſet out *melioribus avibus*. The wind freſhened ſo briſkly in our poop, that the ſhore appeared to move from us, as faſt as we did from the ſhore. The Captain declared he was ſure of a wind, meaning its continuance; but he had diſappointed us ſo often, that he had loſt all credit. However, he kept his word a little better now; and we loſt ſight of our native land as joyfully, at leaſt, as it is uſual to regain it.

Sunday. The next morning, the Captain told me he thought himſelf thirty miles to the weſtward of Plymouth; and, before evening, declared that the Lizard point, which is the extremity of Cornwall, bore ſeveral leagues to leeward. Nothing remarkable paſt this day, except the Captain's devotion, who, in his own phraſe, ſummoned all hands to prayers, which were read by a common ſailor upon deck, with more devout force and addreſs, than they are commonly read by a country curate, and received with more decency and attention by the ſailors than are uſually preſerved in city-congregations. I am indeed aſſured, that if any ſuch affected diſregard of the ſolemn office in which they were engaged, as I have ſeen practiſed by fine gentlemen and ladies, expreſſing a kind of apprehenſion leſt they ſhould be ſuſpected of being really in earneſt in their devotion, had been ſhewn here, they would have attracted the contempt of the whole audience. To ſay the truth, from what I obſerved in the behaviour of the ſailors in this voyage, and on comparing it with what I have formerly ſeen of them at ſea and on ſhore, I am convinced that on land there is nothing more idle and diſſolute; in their own element, there are no perſons, near the level of their degree, who live in the conſtant practiſe of half ſo many good qualities. They are, for much the greater part, perfect maſters of their buſineſs, and always extremely alert and ready in executing it, without any regard to fatigue or hazard. The ſoldiers themſelves are not better diſciplined, nor more obedient to orders, than thoſe whilſt abroad; they ſubmit to every difficulty

Digitized by Google

difficulty which attends their calling with chearfulneſs, and no leſs virtues than patience and fortitude are exerciſed by them every day of their lives.

All theſe good qualities, however, they always leave behind them on ſhipboard: the ſailor, out of water, is, indeed, as wretched an animal as the fiſh out of water; for though the former hath, in common with amphibious animals, the bare power of exiſting on the land, yet if he be kept there any time, he never fails to become a nuiſance.

The ſhip having had a good deal of motion ſince ſhe was laſt under ſail, our women returned to their ſickneſs, and I to my ſolitude; having, for twenty-four hours together, ſcarce opened my lips to a ſingle perſon. This circumſtance of being ſhut up within the circumference of a few yards, with a ſcore of human creatures, with not one of whom it was poſſible to converſe, was perhaps ſo rare, as ſcarce ever to have happened before, nor could it ever happen to one who diſliked it more than myſelf, or to myſelf at a ſeaſon when I wanted more food for my ſocial diſpoſition, or could converſe leſs wholſomely and happily with my own thoughts. To this accident, which Fortune opened to me in the Downs, was owing the firſt ſerious thought which I ever entertained of inrolling myſelf among the voyage-writers; ſome of the moſt amuſing pages, if, indeed, there be any which deſerve that name, were poſſibly the production of the moſt diſagreeable hours which ever haunted the author.

Monday. At noon, the Captain took an obſervation, by which it appeared that Uſhant bore ſome leagues northward of us, and that we were juſt entering the bay of Biſcay. We had advanced a very few miles in this bay before we were entirely becalmed; we furled our ſails, as being of no uſe to us: while we lay in this moſt diſagreeable ſituation, more deteſted by the ſailors than the moſt violent tempeſt, we were alarmed with the loſs of a fine piece of ſalt beef, which had been hung in the ſea to freſhen it; this being, it ſeems, the ſtrange property of ſalt-water. The thief was immediately ſuſpected, and preſently afterwards taken

Digitized by Google

taken by the ſailors. He was, indeed, no other than a huge ſhark, who, not knowing when he was well off, ſwallowed another piece of beef, together with a great iron crook on which it was hung, and by which he was dragged into the ſhip.

I ſhould ſcarce have mentioned the catching this ſhark, though ſo exactly conformable to the rules and practice of voyage-writing, had it not been for a ſtrange circumſtance that attended it; this was the recovery of the ſtolen beef out of the ſhark's maw, where it lay unchewed and undigeſted, and whence being conveyed into the pot, the fleſh, and the thief that had ſtolen it, joined together in furniſhing variety to the ſhip's crew,

During this calm we likewiſe found the maſt of a large veſſel, which the Captain thought had lain at leaſt three years in the ſea. It was ſtuck all over with a little ſhell-fiſh, or reptile, called a barnacle, and which probably are the prey of the rock-fiſh, as our Captain calls it, aſſerting that it is the fineſt fiſh in the world; for which we are obliged to confide entirely in his taſte; for, though he ſtruck the fiſh with a kind of harping-iron, and wounded him, I am convinced, to death, yet he could not poſſeſs himſelf of his body; but the poor wretch eſcaped to linger out a few hours, with probably great torments.

In the evening our wind returned, and ſo briſkly, that we ran upwards of twenty leagues before the next day's [*Teuſday's*] obſervation, which brought us to Lat. 40°. 42'. The Captain promiſed us a very ſpeedy paſſage through the bay; but he deceived us, or the wind deceived him, for it ſo ſlackened at ſun-ſet, that it ſcarce carried us a mile in an hour during the whole ſucceeding night.

Wedneſday. A gale ſtruck up a little after ſun-riſing, which carried us between three and four knots or miles an hour. We were this day at noon about the middle of the bay of Biſcay, when the wind once more deſerted us, and we were ſo entirely becalmed, that we did not advance a mile in many hours. My freſh-water reader will perhaps conceive no unpleaſant idea from this calm; but it affected us much

Digitized by Google

more than a ſtorm could have done; for as the iraſcible paſſions of men are apt to ſwell with indignation long after the injury which firſt raiſed them is over, ſo fared it with the ſea. It roſe mountains high, and lifted our poor ſhip up and down, backwards and forwards, with ſo violent an emotion, that there was ſcarce a man in the ſhip better able to ſtand than myſelf. Every utenſil in our cabbin rolled up and down, as we ſhould have rolled ourſelves, had not our chairs been faſt laſhed to the floor. In this ſituation, with our takles likewiſe faſtened by ropes, the Captain and myſelf took our meal with ſome difficulty, and ſwallowed a little of our broth, for we ſpilt much the greater part. The remainder of our dinner, being an old, lean, tame duck, roaſted, I regretted but little the loſs of my teeth not being good enough to have chewed it.

Our women, who began to creep out of their holes in the morning, retired again within the cabbin to their beds, and were no more heard of this day, in which my whole comfort was to find, by the Captain's relation, that the ſwelling was ſometimes much worſe; he did, indeed, take this occaſion to be more communicative than ever, and informed me of ſuch miſadventures, that had befallen him within forty-ſix years at ſea, as might frighten a very bold ſpirit from undertaking even the ſhorteſt voyage. Were theſe, indeed, but univerſally known, our matrons of quality would poſſibly be deterred from venturing their tender offſpring at ſea; by which means our navy would loſe the honour of many a young commodore, who at twenty-two is better verſed in maritime affairs than real ſeamen are made by experience at ſixty.

And this may, perhaps, appear the more extraordinary, as the education of both ſeems to be pretty much the ſame; neither of them having had their courage tried by Virgil's deſcription of a ſtorm; in which, inſpired as he was, I doubt whether our Captain doth not exceed him.

In the evening, the wind, which continued in the N. W. again freſhened, and that ſo briſkly, that Cape Finiſterre appeared by this day's obſervation to bear a

Digitized by Google

few miles to the ſouthward. We now indeed ſailed, or rather flew, near ten knots an hour; and the Captain, in the redundancy of good humour, declared he would go to church at Liſbon on Sunday next, for that he was ſure of a wind; and, indeed, we all firmly believed him. But the event again contradicted him; for we were again viſited by a calm in the evening.

But here, though our voyage was retarded, we were entertained with a ſcene, which as no one can behold without going to ſea, ſo no one can form an idea of any thing equal to it on ſhore. We were ſeated on the deck, women and all, in the ſereneſt evening that can be imagined. Not a ſingle cloud preſented itſelf to our view, and the ſun himſelf was the only object which engroſſed our whole attention. He did indeed ſet with a majeſty which is incapable of deſcription, with which, while the horizon was yet blazing with glory, our eyes were called off to the oppoſite part, to ſurvey the moon, which was then at full, and which in riſing preſented us with the ſecond object that this world hath offered to our viſion. Compared to theſe, the pageantry of theatres, or ſplendor of courts, are ſights almoſt below the regard of children.

We did not return from the deck till late in the evening: the weather being inexpreſſibly pleaſant, and ſo warm, that even my old diſtemper perceived the alteration of the climate. There was indeed a ſwell, but nothing comparable to what we had felt before, and it affected us on the deck much leſs than in the cabbin.

Friday. The calm continued till ſun-riſing, when the wind likewiſe aroſe; but, unluckily for us, it came from a wrong quarter; it was S. S. E. which is that very wind which Juno would have ſolicited of Æolus, had Æneas been, in our latitude, bound for Liſbon.

The Captain now put on his moſt melancholy aſpect, and reſumed his former opinion, that he was bewitched. He declared, with great ſolemnity, that this was worſe and worſe, for that a wind directly in his teeth was worſe than no wind at all.

Digitized by Google

Had we purſued the courſe which the wind perſuaded us to take, we had gone directly for Newfoundland, if we had not fallen in with Ireland in our way. Two ways remained to avoid this; one was, to put into a port in Galicia; the other, to beat to the weſtward with as little ſail as poſſible; and this was our Captain's election.

As for us, poor paſſengers, any port would have been welcome to us; eſpecially, as not only our freſh proviſions, except a great number of old ducks and fowls, but even our bread was come to an end; and nothing but ſea-biſcuit remained, which I could not chew. So that now, for the firſt time in my life, I ſaw what it was to want a bit of bread.

The wind, however, was not ſo unkind as we had apprehended; but having declined with the ſun, it changed at the approach of the moon, and became again favourable to us; though ſo gentle, that the next day's obſervation carried us very little to the ſouthward of Cape Finiſterre. This evening at ſix, the wind, which had been very quiet all day, roſe very high, and continuing in our favour, drove us ſeven knots an hour.

This day we ſaw a ſail, the only one, as I heard of, we had ſeen in our whole paſſage through the Bay. I mention this on account of what appeared to me ſomewhat extraordinary. Though ſhe was at ſuch a diſtance that I could only perceive ſhe was a ſhip, the ſailors diſcovered ſhe was a ſnow bound to a port in Galicia.

Sunday. After prayers, which our good Captain read on the deck with an audible voice, and with but one miſtake, of *a lion* for *Elias*, in the ſecond leſſon for this day, we found ourſelves far advanced in 42°, and the Captain declared we ſhould ſup off Porte. We had not much wind this day; but, as this was directly in our favour, we made it up with ſail, of which we crowded all we had. We went only at the rate of four miles an hour, but with ſo uneaſy a motion, continually rowling from ſide to ſide, that I ſuffered more than I had done in our whole voyage; my bowels being almoſt twiſted out of my belly. However, the day was very ſerene and bright, and the Captain, who was

Digitized by Google

was in high spirits, affirmed he had never passed a pleasanter at sea.

The wind continued so brisk that we ran upwards of six knots an hour the whole night.

Monday. In the morning, our Captain concluded that he was got into lat. 40°, and was very little short of the Burlings, as they are called in the charts. We came up with them at five in the afternoon, being the first land we had distinctly seen since we left Devonshire. They consist of abundance of little rocky islands, a little distant from the shore, three of them only shewing themselves above the water.

Here the Portuguese maintain a kind of garrison, if we may allow it that name. It consists of malefactors, who are banished hither for a term, for divers small offences; a policy which they may have copied from the Egyptians, as we may read in Diodorus Siculus. That wise people, to prevent the corruption of good manners by evil communication, built a town on the Red Sea, whither they transported a great number of their criminals, having first set an indelible mark on them, to prevent their returning and mixing with the sober part of their citizens.

These rocks ly about fifteen leagues north-west of Cape Roxent; or, as it is commonly called, the Rock of Lisbon; which we past early the next morning. The wind, indeed, would have carried us thither sooner; but the Captain was not in a hurry, as he was to lose nothing by his delay.

Tuesday. This is a very high mountain, situated on the northern side of the mouth of the River Tajo, which, rising above Madrid, in Spain, and soon becoming navigable for small craft, empties itself, after a long course, into the sea, about four leagues below Lisbon.

On the summit of the rock stands a hermitage, which is now in the possession of an Englishman, who was formerly master of a vessel trading to Lisbon; and, having changed his religion and his manners, the latter of which at least were none of the best, betook himself to this place, in order to do penance for his sins. He is now very old, and hath inhabited this

Digitized by Google

hermitage for a great number of years, during which he hath received ſome countenance from the royal family; and particularly from the preſent queen dowager, whoſe piety refuſes no trouble or expences by which ſhe may make a proſelyte; being uſed to ſay, that the ſaving one ſoul would repay all the endeavours of her life.

Here we waited for the tide, and had the pleaſure of ſurveying the face of the country, the ſoil of which, at this ſeaſon, exactly reſembles an old brick-kiln, or a field where the green-ſward is pared up and ſet a-burning, or rather a-ſmoking, in little heaps, to manure the land. This ſight will, perhaps, of all others, make an Engliſhman proud of, and pleaſed with, his own country. Another deficiency here, is the want of large trees: nothing above a ſhrub being here to be diſcovered in the circumference of many miles.

At this place we took a pilot on board, who being the firſt Portugueſe we ſpoke to, gave us an inſtance of that religious obſervance which is paid by all nations to their laws: for whereas it is here a capital offence to aſſiſt any perſon in going on ſhore from a foreign veſſel, before it hath been examined, and every perſon in it viewed by the magiſtrates of health, as they are called, this worthy pilot, for a very ſmall reward, rowed the Portugueſe prieſt to ſhore at this place, beyond which he did not dare to advance; and in venturing whither he had given ſufficient teſtimony of love for his native country.

We did not enter the Tajo till noon, when, after paſſing ſeveral old caſtles, and other buildings, which had greatly the aſpect of ruins, we came to the caſtle of Belliſle, where we had a full proſpect of Liſbon, and were, indeed, within three miles of it.

Here we were ſaluted with a gun, which was a ſignal to paſs no farther, till we had complied with certain ceremonies, which the laws of this country require to be obſerved by all ſhips which arrive in this port. We were obliged then to caſt anchor, and expect the arrival of the officers of the cuſtoms, without whoſe paſſport no ſhip muſt proceed farther than this place.

Here

Digitized by Google

Here likewise we received a visit from one of those magistrates of health before-mentioned. He refused to come on board the ship, till every person in her had been drawn up on deck, and personally viewed by him. This occasioned some delay on my part, as it was not the work of a minute to lift me from the cabbin to the deck. The Captain thought my particular case might have been excused from this ceremony; and that it would be abundantly sufficient if the magistrate, who was obliged afterwards to visit the cabbin, surveyed me there. But this did not satisfy the magistrate's strict regard to his duty. When he was told of my lameness, he called out with a voice of authority, 'Let him be brought up;' and his orders were presently complied with. He was, indeed, a person of great dignity, as well as of most exact fidelity in the discharge of his trust: both which are the more admirable, as his salary is less than thirty pounds English, *per annum*.

Before a ship hath been visited by one of those magistrates, no person can lawfully go on board her; nor can any on board depart from her. This I saw exemplified in a remarkable instance. The young lad, whom I have mentioned as one of our passengers, was here met by his father, who, on the first news of the Captain's arrival, came from Lisbon to Bellisle in a boat, being eager to embrace a son whom he had not seen for many years. But when he came alongside our ship, neither did the father dare ascend, nor the son descend, as the magistrate of health had not been yet on board.

Some of my readers will, perhaps, admire the great caution of this policy, so nicely calculated for the preservation of this country from all pestilential distempers. Others will as probably regard it as too exact and formal to be constantly persisted in, in seasons of the utmost safety, as well as in times of danger. I will not decide either way; but will content myself with observing, that I never yet saw or heard of a place where a traveller had so much trouble given him at his landing as here. The only use of which, as all such matters begin and end in form only, is to put it into

Digitized by Google

into the power of low and mean fellows, to be either rudely officious or grosly corrupt, as they shall see occasion to prefer the gratification of their pride or of their avarice.

Of this kind, likewise, is that power which is lodged with other officers here, of taking away every grain of snuff, and every leaf of tobacco, brought hither from other countries, though only for the temporary use of a person, during his residence here. This is executed with great insolence, and as it is in the hands of the dregs of the people, very scandalously: for, under pretence of searching for tobacco and snuff, they are sure to steal whatever they can find, insomuch, that when they came on board, our sailors addressed us in the Covent-garden language, 'Pray, 'gentlemen and ladies, take care of your swords and 'watches.' Indeed, I never yet saw any thing equal to the contempt and hatred which our honest tars every moment expressed for these Portuguese officers.

At Bellisle lies buried Catharine of Arragon, widow of Prince Arthur, eldest son of our Henry VII. afterwards married to, and divorced from, Henry VIII. Close by the church where her remains are deposited, is a large convent of Geronymites, one of the most beautiful piles of building in all Portugal.

In the evening at twelve, our ship, having received previous visits from all the necessary parties, took the advantage of the tide, and having sailed up to Lisbon, cast anchor there, in a calm and moon-shiny night, which made the passage incredibly pleasant to the women, who remained three hours enjoying it, whilst I was left to the cooler transports of enjoying their pleasures at second-hand; and yet, cooler as they may be, whoever is totally ignorant of such sensation, is at the same time void of all ideas of friendship.

Wednesday. Lisbon, before which we now lay at anchor, is said to be built on the same number of hills with old Rome; but these do not all appear to the water; on the contrary, one sees from thence one vast high hill and rock, with buildings arising above one another, and that in so steep and almost perpendicular

Digitized by Google

cular a manner, that they all seem to have but one foundation.

As the houses, convents, churches, &c. are large, and all built with white stone, they look very beautiful at a distance; but as you approach nearer, and find them to want every kind of ornament, all idea of beauty vanishes at once. While I was surveying the prospect of this city, which bears so little resemblance to any other that I have ever seen, a reflection occured to me, that if a man was suddenly to be removed from Palmyra hither, and should take a view of no other city, in how glorious a light would the antient architecture appear to him! and what desolation and destruction of arts and sciences would he conclude had happened between the several æras of these cities!

I had now waited full three hours upon deck, for the return of my man, whom I had sent to bespeak a good dinner (a thing which had been long unknown to me) on shore, and then to bring a Lisbon chaise with him to the sea-shore; but it seems, the impertinence of the providore was not yet brought to a conclusion. At three o'clock, when I was from emptiness rather faint than hungry, my man returned, and told me, there was a new law lately made, that no passenger should set his foot on shore without a special order from the providore; and that he himself would have been sent to prison for disobeying it, had he not been protected as the servant of the Captain. He informed me likewise, that the Captain had been very industrious to get this order; but that it was then the providore's hour of sleep, a time when no man, except the king himself, durst disturb him.

To avoid prolixity, though in a part of my narrative which may be more agreeable to my reader than it was to me, the providore having at last finished his nap, dispatched this absurd matter of form, and gave me leave to come, or rather to be carried on shore.

What it was that gave the first hint of this strange law, is not easy to guess. Possibly, in the infancy of their defection, and before their government could be well established, they were willing to guard against the bare possibility of surprise, of the success of which bare

Digitized by Google

bare poſſibility the Trojan horſe will remain for ever on record, as a great and memorable example. Now the Portuguese have no walls to ſecure them, and a veſſel of two or three hundred tuns will contain a much larger body of troops than could be concealed in that famous machine, though Virgil tells us (ſomewhat hyperbolically, I believe) that it was as big as a mountain.

About ſeven in the evening, I got into a chaiſe on ſhore, and was driven through the naſtieſt city in the world, though at the ſame time one of the moſt populous, to a kind of coffee-houſe, which is very pleaſantly ſituated on the brow of a hill, about a mile from the city, and hath a very fine proſpect of the river Tajo from Liſbon to the ſea.

Here we regaled ourſelves with a good ſupper, for which we were as well-charged, as if the bill had been made on the Bath-road, between Newbury and London.

And now we could joyfully ſay,

Egreſſi optata Troes potiuntur arena.

Therefore, in the words of Horace,

------*hic Fines chartæque viæque.*

A FRAGMENT

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

A FRAGMENT OF A COMMENT ON LORD BOLINGBROKE'S ESSAYS.

Digitized by Google

A

FRAGMENT, &c.

I MUST confeſs myſelf to be one of thoſe who brought with me to the peruſal of the late publiſhed volumes of Lord Bolingbroke, a very high prejudice to the doctrines ſaid to have been eſtabliſhed in them; but, at the ſame time, can as truly aſſert, that I had the higheſt and ſtrongeſt prepoſſeſſion in favour of the abilities of the author. Such, indeed, was this prepoſſeſſion, that it might, I think, be a ſufficient warrant of a man's candour againſt any prejudice whatever: and it is in the true ſpirit of this candour that I declare, upon the peruſal, I have found my prepoſſeſſions greatly abated, and my prejudices not in the leaſt removed.

Could it therefore be ſuppoſed, that all mankind were alike able to try the cauſe of truth, and to form their judgment on the weight of argument and evidence only, I think there could be no danger in leaving the deciſion of this matter upon his Lordſhip's own reaſoning, without any attempt to anſwer him. But when we conſider how very weak the abilities of mankind in general are, in diſquiſitions of this nature; how much weaker they are rendered for this purpoſe by want of due attention; and, laſtly, how apt they are to carry any little partiality which they have preconceived before the examination of a cauſe, up to the final deciſion of it in their minds, it may poſſibly be very dangerous to the ſociety to ſuffer ſuch pernicious doctrines to ſtand unobjected to, with ſo great a name at their head. Many, I am convinced, will think the authority of this name alone ſufficient to eſtabliſh their own belief upon, without any farther inquiry at all. Many others will imagine very little

Digitized by Google

inquiry neceſſary, and, though they did not entirely acquieſce in taking his word, will be eaſily cajoled with his reaſons, which, however little they may have of ſubſtance, have much of the ſpecious ornaments of wit and language, with all the allurements of novelty both of ſtyle and manner; and, finally, with an appearance, at leaſt, of reading very ſingular and extenſive.

From which laſt particular may ariſe a third ſort very worthy of receiving ſome aſſiſtance on this occaſion; ſuch, I mean, as have not the leaſt inclination to his Lordſhip's doctrines, nor would, indeed, aſſent to them on the authority of any man breathing, who may yet have wanted leiſure or opportunity ſufficient to provide themſelves with a proper fund of knowledge to give a ready anſwer to various aſſertions which will occur in the works now under conſideration, and which, though they have the worſt of tendencies, have in reality themſelves no better ſupport (and not always ſo good a one) than ſome very weak and ſlender hypotheſes, and are at other times built on the revival of old chimerical principles, which have been confuted and exploded long ago.

Now, to all theſe different conſtitutions, we ſhall endeavour to apply our ſeveral antidotes. And here, luckily for us, we are provided with an argument which muſt moſt effectually ſilence thoſe who are the moſt difficult of all others to be uſually dealt with in the way of reaſoning; ſuch are the perſons I mentioned in the firſt claſs, who believe from authority only, and who have not yet, with the ſchools, given up the irreſiſtable argument of, he Himſelf ſaid it.

The force of this argument, however, even in the days when it flouriſhed moſt, drew all its ſtrength from a ſuppoſition that, if he himſelf ſaid it, he himſelf believed it: for, if it could have been proved of Ariſtotle, that he had aſſerted *pro* and *con*, and had, with the ſame clearneſs, affirmed in one part of his works the ſame things to be, and in another the ſame things not to be, none of his ſcholars would have known which he believed, and all others would, perhaps, have thought that he had no belief at all in, nor indeed any knowledge of the matter.

If,

Digitized by Google

If, therefore, his Lordſhip ſhall appear to have made uſe of this duplicity of aſſertion, and that not in one or two, but in many inſtances, may we not draw the like concluſions? Luckily, perhaps, for his Lordſhip, we may not be driven to the ſame abſolute degree of uncertainty as muſt have reſulted from the caſe of Ariſtotle, as I have put it above; ſince our noble author himſelf ſeems to have left us a kind of clue, which will ſufficiently lead us to the diſcovery of his meaning, and will ſhew us, as often as he is pleaſed to aſſert both ſides of a contradiction, on which ſide we are to believe him.

And here I ſhall premiſe two cautions: one of which I ſhall borrow from the rules eſtabliſhed among writers; the reaſonableneſs of the other I ſhall endeavour to evince, from a rule given us by one of the greateſt lawyers whom this kingdom ever bred.

The firſt is, that of interpreting the ſenſe of an author with the utmoſt candour, ſo as not to charge him with any groſs and invidious meaning, when his words are ſuſceptible of a much more benign and favourable ſenſe.

The ſecond is, the obſervation formed upon the works of Judge Littleton by Lord Chief juſtice Coke: this is, that whenever that great lawyer is pleaſed to put down two opinions directly contradicting each other, that the latter opinion is always the beſt, and always his own.

To apply theſe to the preſent purpoſe, I firſt of all recommend to the candour of the reader, that whenever he ſhall find two aſſertions directly contrary to each other (and many ſuch we do promiſe to produce to him) one of which directly tends to take away all religion whatever, and the other as directly to eſtabliſh natural religion at leaſt, that he will be ſo kind, ſince it is impoſſible that my Lord ſhould have believed both, to imagine that he rather believed the latter; eſpecially as this latter, from its contradicting the apparent purpoſe of the author, appears to have been laſt ſet down; and conſequently, will have my Lord Coke's ſanction in favour of the ſuperior authority.

Digitized by Google

Laſtly, if it ſhould ever happen that his Lordſhip's ſentiments ſhould be more clearly expreſſed in favour of the worſe than of the better doctrine, we will endeavour all that in us lies to explain and illuſtrate thoſe hints; by which, we truſt, he will always aſſiſt a careful and accurate examiner in reſcuing the eſoteric purity of his doctrines from that leſs amiable appearance in which their exoteric garb repreſents them.

In ſhort, we doubt not but to make it appear as a fact beyond all conteſt, that his Lordſhip was *in jeſt* through the whole work which we have undertaken to examine. If an inflamed zealot ſhould, in his warmth, compare ſuch jeſting to his in the Pſalmiſt; or, if a cooler diſpoſition ſhould aſk how it was poſſible to jeſt with matters of ſuch importance? I confeſs I have no defence againſt the accuſation, nor can give any ſatisfactory anſwer to the queſtion. To this, indeed, I could ſay, and it is all that I could ſay, that my Lord Bolingbroke was a great genius, ſent into the world for great and aſtoniſhing purpoſes. That the ends, as well as means, of action in ſuch perſonages, are above the comprehenſion of the vulgar. That his life was one ſcene of the wonderful throughout. That as the temporal happineſs, the civil liberties and properties of Europe, were the game of his earlieſt youth, there could be no ſport ſo adequate to the entertainment of his advanced age, as the eternal and final happineſs of all mankind. That this is the nobleſt converſation of character, and might, if perceived in himſelf, poſſibly lead our great genius to ſee the Supreme Being in the light of a dramatic poet, and that part of his works which we inhabit as a drama: 'The 'ſenſitive inhabitants of our globe,' ſays Lord Bolingbroke †, 'like the *dramatis perſonæ*, have different 'characters, and are applied to different purpoſes of 'action in every ſcene. The ſeveral parts of the 'material world, like the machines of a theatre, were 'contrived, not for the actors, but for the action: and 'the whole order and ſyſtem of the drama would be

† Vol. V. p. 377.

'diſordered.

Digitized by Google

'disordered and spoiled, if any alteration was made 'in either. The nature of every creature, his man- 'ner of being, is adapted to his state here, to the 'place he is to inhabit, and, as we may say, to the 'part he is to act.' It hath been, I think, too common with poets to aggrandize their profession with such kind of similes, and I have, somewhere in an English dramatic writer, met with one so nearly resembling the above, that his Lordship might be almost suspected to have read it likewise; but such conceits are inconsistent with any (even the least) pretence to philosophy. I recollect, indeed, a single instance, in the writings of Jordano Bruno, who was burnt at Rome for heresy, or, if we believe Scioppius, for most horrid blasphemy, the latter end of the fifteenth century; and who, from a want of a due correspondence between the passive powers of matter, and the active power of God, compares the Supreme Being to a fiddler, who hath skill to play, but cannot for want of a fiddle. This, it must be confessed, is going somewhat farther; as much farther, in reality, as to descend from the stage to the orchestra. This ludicrous treatment of the Being so universally (for half a dozen madmen must not be allowed to strip any opinion of universality) acknowledged to be the cause of all things, whilst it sounds so ill in the grave voice of Reason, very well becomes the lips of a droll: for novelty, boldness, and even absurdity, as they all tend to surprise, do often give a poignancy to wit, and serve to enhance a jest. This affords a second reason why we may suspect his Lordship was not over serious in the work before us.

Thirdly, That his Lordship never thought proper to revise this performance, is a very strong argument that he could not be in earnest either in believing himself in his own doctrines, or in endeavouring to imprint such a belief on others. That he did not in fact revise his works is manifest, from the numerous contradictions that occur in them, and these often in the same page; so that, for the most part, they could not escape the dullest and bluntest degree of penetration. Surely we cannot impute such repeated oversights to

Digitized by Google

one who hath so explicitely asserted *, That to be liable to contradict yourself, is to be liable to one of the greatest of human imperfections! An author, in the first hurry of setting down his thoughts on a subject which warms him, may possibly, indeed, assert two opinions not perfectly reconcileable with each other; nay, there are some writers from whom we can reasonably expect no less; since, as Archbishop Tillotson observes, it is hard to contradict truth and nature, without contradicting one's-self. But to expunge such mistakes is the office of revisal and correction; and therefore, a work in which these mistakes abound, is very justly called an incorrect performance. As this work therefore doth, more than any which I ever saw, afford us instances of what his Lordship calls the greatest human imperfection, charity shews me no more candid way of accounting for them than this which I have mentioned.

Lastly, The very form and title, under which the noble Lord hath thought proper to introduce his philosophy into the world, is a very strong evidence of the justice of all the foregoing observations. We may form, I think, one general precept from the trite story of Archimedes: this is, not to undertake any great work without preconcerting such means as may be adequate to the execution. Now to turn the material world topsy-turvy, is a project scarce more difficult in appearance, than to perform the same notable exploit in the intellectual. And yet Archimedes might as judiciously have fixed his machine *in vacuo*, as his Lordship hath chosen to argue against the best established systems in the intellectual world, in fragments of essays. This method, not to mention the indignity it offers to the subject in dispute, is treating the whole body of the learned with more supercilious disrespect than nature seems yet to have qualified any member of that body to express towards the rest of his brethren; and which must appear to be wonderful, if serious, in one who expresses so modest an opinion of his own critical talents; though, as to his modesty, it must indeed be confessed to be somewhat seasoned with a due mixture of contempt.

* Essays, b. 181.

But

Digitized by Google

But whatever may leſſen the idea of his Lordſhip's modeſty, there is only one way to leſſen that of his abſurdity; this is to conclude that he was in jeſt: nay, there is one way to ſee this abſurdity in an amiable light; for in ſuch a light he will appear, if we ſuppoſe that he puts on the jack-pudding's coat with the noble view of expoſing and rediculing thoſe pernicious tenets which have lately been propagated with a zeal more difficult to be accounted for than its ſucceſs.

That ſuch an attempt of expoſing any popular error would always prove victorious, is, I think, extremely probable. My Lord Shafteſbury hath been blamed for ſaying, 'That ridicule is one of thoſe 'principal lights or natural mediums by which things 'are to be viewed, in order to a thorough recogni-'tion: for that truth, it is ſuppoſed, may bear all 'lights *.' Perhaps there may be ſome juſtice in this cenſure, as truth may by ſuch a trial be ſubjected to miſrepreſentation, and become a more eaſy prey to the malice of its enemies; a flagrant inſtance of which we have in the caſe of Socrates.

But whatever objection there may be againſt trying truth by ridicule, there can be none, I apprehend, of making uſe of its aſſiſtance in expelling and baniſhing all falſehood and impoſture, when once fairly convicted, out of ſociety; and as this method is for this purpoſe very unexceptionable, ſo is it generally the moſt efficacious that can be invented; as will appear by ſome examples which will occur in the courſe of our comment on his Lordſhip's eſſays, or fragments of eſſays, on which we ſhall now enter without further preface or apology.

SECT. I.

AND here, as a proof that we are as liable to be corrupted by our books as by our companions, I am in danger of ſetting out with a contradiction. Nay, I muſt yet venture to do this in ſome degree with my eyes open, and muſt lay my defence

* Eſſay on the freedom of wit and humour, part I. ſect. I.

Digitized by Google

on a diſtinction rather too nice, and which relies too much on the candour of my reader.

The truth is, our noble author's chief ſtrength lies in that very circumſtance which I have before aſſerted to be of itſelf alone a ſufficient argument of his weakneſs; whereas, on the contrary, his manner affords ſuch a protection to his matter, that if he had deſigned to reſerve to himſelf the ſole privilege of anſwering his own doctrine, he could not have invented a more ingenious or effectual contrivance. It hath been alledged as a good reaſon for not anſwering certain books, that one muſt be obliged firſt to read them; but ſurely we ſhall find few men ſo very charitable, or ſo much our friends, to give them order and method with a view only of complimenting them with an anſwer.

This, however, I attempted, though I own with no great ſucceſs; and that not ſo much, I apprehend, from want of ſufficent matter to make out ſuch colourable ſyſtems as may be expected in ſuch a writer, as from a certain dark, cautious, and looſe manner of expreſſing his ſentiments, which muſt ariſe either from a writer's deſire of not being very eaſily explained, or from an incapacity of making himſelf very clearly underſtood. The difficulties ariſing to the commentator on theſe fragments, will appear to be aſſignable only to the former cauſe: for a very indifferent reader will be ſeldom at a loſs in comprehending his Lordſhip in his own works; but to tranſfer his doctrines with their authority (i. e. the *ipſe dixit* of the author) into another work, is often very difficult, and, without long quotations, too apt to tire the reader, impoſſible. In this light a very fine thought of Mr Pope's occurs to my memory:

'Tho' index-learning turns no ſtudent pale,
'It holds the eel of ſcience by the tail.'

The beſt way then of proceeding with ſo ſlippery a reaſoner, the only way, indeed, in which I ſee any poſſibility of proceeding with him, is firſt to lay down ſome general rules, all of which will hereafter be proved out of his writings, and then purſuing him

chapter

Digitized by Google

chapter by chapter, to extract the several proofs, however scattered and dispersed, which tend to establish both parts of the contradictions, which I shall now set down.

Our noble author sets out in his first section, with a sly insinuation, that it is possible for the gravest of philosophers on the gravest of subjects, to advance propositions in jest. 'It is more probable,' says Lord B-------, 'and it is more candid to believe, that this 'philosopher (Descartes) was in earnest, than that he 'was in jest, when he advanced this proposition *,' *concerning the immutability and eternity of certain mathematical truths.* I will add, that I believe that an idea of such jesting had never any footing in a human head, till it first found admission into that of this noble Lord.

In the same section his Lordship proceeds thus: 'The ancients thought matter eternal, and assumed 'that the Demiurgus, or Divine Architect, composed 'the frame of the world with materials which were 'ready prepared, and independently on him, in a 'confused chaos. Much in the same manner such 'metaphysicians as the learned Cudworth have imagined a sort of intellectual chaos, a chaos of eternal ideas, of incorporeal essences, independent on 'God, self-existent, and therefore coeval with the 'Supreme Being, and therefore anterior to all other 'natures. In this intellectual chaos God sees, and 'man must endeavour to see, the natures, the real 'essences of things: and thus the foundations of morality are laid higher than the existence of any moral agents, before there was any system of being 'from which the obligations to it could result, or 'to which they could be applied: just as the same 'philosophers suppose the incorporeal essences of 'white and black to have existed when there was no 'such thing as colour, and those of a square and 'circle, when there was neither form nor figure §.'

Here I am afraid the learned peer hath gone no farther for his erudition than the first or second pages of Ovid's Metamorphosis: for could he be recalled

* Essays, page 4. § Ibid. page 6.

from

from the dead, contrary to his own doctrine, as he hath recalled Descartes, and were asked whom he meant by the ancients, he could not certainly answer in general, the ancient philosophers, for then the whole tribe of atheists would be ready to testify against him. If he should answer, that he meant the ancient theists only, and less he cannot be supposed to mean by those who are well-bred enough to suppose he meant any thing, he will be far from finding even among these an universal concurrence with his own opinion. Thales, the chief of the Grecian sages, and who is said to have first turned his thoughts to physiological inquiries, affirmed the independent pre-existence of God from all eternity. The words of Laertius are remarkable, and I will render them with the most literal exactness in my power. He asserted, says Laertius, 'That God was the eldest of all beings, for he 'existed *without a previous cause* EVEN IN THE WAY 'OF GENERATION; that the world was the most 'beautiful of all things; for *it was* CREATED BY 'GOD, *&c.* *. This notion of the creation, Aristotle tells us, was agreeable to the concurrent voice of all antiquity; 'All,' says he, 'assert the creation of the 'world; but they differ in this, that some will have 'the world susceptible of dissolution, which others 'deny. †' On this occasion Aristotle names Empedocles and Heraclitus, but, which is somewhat remarkable, never mentions Thales. The opinion itself is opposed by the Stagirite; and this opposition he was forced to maintain, or he must have given up the eternity of the world, which he very justly asserts to be inconsistent with any idea of its creation. But we will dismiss the antients from the bar, and see how his Lordship will support his arraignment of the moderns. The charge against them is, that they have holden certain ideas, or incorporeal essences, to be self-existent. Concerning these doctrines his Lordship thus harangues in the very same page ‡: 'Mr Locke

* Diog. Laert. lib. i. § 35. where I submit to the learned reader the construction he will observe I have given to the different import of those terms, ἀγένητον and ποίημα; the first of which may be considered as a qualified, the latter as an absolute cause.

† Aristot. De cœlo, lib. i. cap. 10. ‡ Essay, page 6.

'observes,

'observes, how impossible it is for us to conceive certain relations, habitudes, and connections, visibly included in some of our ideas, to be separable from them even by infinite power. Let us observe, on this occasion, how impossible, or, at least, how extremely difficult, it is for us to separate the idea of eternity from certain moral and mathematical truths, as well as from such as are called necessary, and are self-evident, on one hand: and, on the other, how impossible it is to conceive that truths should exist before the things to which they are relative; or particular natures and essences, before the system of universal nature, and when there was no being but the super-essential Being.'

If I had any inclination to cavil, I might, with truth, assert that no such passage is to be found in Mr Locke. His words are: 'In some of our ideas there are certain relations, habitudes, and connections, so visibly included in the nature of the ideas themselves, that we cannot conceive them separable from them by any power whatsoever *.' It may be answered, perhaps, that the violence is done rather to the expression, than to the meaning, of this truly great man; but if I should candidly admit that he seems, from the immediate context, to mean no less (I say, seems to mean: for, whoever will carefully compare what is said in another part of the same book †, of the powers of the mind in forming the archetypes of its complex ideas of mixed modes, may possibly think he sees sufficient reason for resolving what is here affirmed of arbitrary (not infinite) power, into the human mind only): I may yet reply, that such a violence even to the expression of such a writer on such a subject, is by no means void of blame, nor even of suspicion, when it is left without a reference to conceal itself in a large folio, where it will not be easily detected by any but those who are pretty familiarly acquainted with the original.

But it is time to close this article, which, I think, seems to establish contradiction the first: for under

* Essay on Human Understanding, l. iv. cap. 3. sect. 29.
† Locke's Essay, l. ii. cap. 31.

what

Digitized by Google

what other term shall we range the arguing *pro* and *con* in the same breath? for where is the force of the accusation, or, as a lawyer would call it, the gist of the indictment, against poor Cudworth? is it not (to use my Lord's own phrase) 'the laying the foundations of morality higher than the existence of any 'moral agents?' And what says my Lord to enforce the charge? Why, truly, he alledges in defence of the accused, that it was impossible for him to have done otherwise, and produces the authority of Mr Locke to confirm this impossibility.

The generosity of this sudden transition from accuser to advocate would convince all men on which side his Lordship had here delivered his real sentiments, was it not somewhat controlled by his having concealed from his readers, that the philosopher a little afterwards, in the same book *, hath endeavoured to prove, and, I think, actually hath proved, that there is no absurdity in what my Lord Bolingbroke objects, provided the doctrine be rightly understood, so as not to establish innate principles. That the actual existence of the subjects of mathematical or moral ideas is not the least necessary to give us a sufficient evidence of the necessity of those ideas; and that, in the disputes of the mathematician as well as of the moralist, the existence of the subject-matter is rarely called in question; nor is it more necessary to their demonstrations and conclusions, than it would be to prove the truth of Tully's Offices, to shew that there was some man who lived up to that idea of perfect goodness, of which Tully hath given us a pattern. There is somewhat very mysterious in all this; but we have not promised to explain contradictions farther than by shewing to which side his Lordship's authority seems to incline. And surely it is better to decide in favour of possibility, and to lay the foundations of morality too high, than to give it no foundation at all.

Desunt cætera.

* Locke's Essays, Lib. iv. cap. 9.

FINIS.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

65 E 439
Vol. 12.

Digitized by Google